

WELFARE WORK IN INDUSTRY

BY MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE OF
INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORKERS

EDITED BY
ELEANOR T. KELLY



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THE WRITERS HAVE HAD EXPERIENCE
IN THE FOLLOWING TRADES

Engineering.	Cotton Mills.
Tin box making.	Biscuit Works.
Printing.	Chocolate Works.
Soap making.	Clothing.
Fine Chemicals.	Munitions of several kinds.
Woollen Mills	Boot and Shoe Trade.
Retail business.	Photographic Dry Plate Works.

FOREWORD

THE world is growing tired of ready-made specifics guaranteed by their promoters to cure all possible ills. Constant experiment is at last convincing men that no such golden balm exists. Some having got so far, lose heart and feel it useless to attempt to solve the problem. Others are coming to believe that the remedy will be found, not in any one reform, but in the gradual readjustment of our relations with each other, with the physical world around us, and with God. It is with the relations existing between men in the industrial world that this book is especially concerned. It offers no complete set of rules of conduct, but is a brief account of a movement which has, it is believed, a very real contribution to make towards the solution of the problems which face us to-day. Though much of the contents relate to purely material means for improving working conditions, the authors would here emphasize their belief that it is only in so far as these material devices are the expression of a spiritual outlook on life that they will secure any permanent improvement in general conditions.

The authors, having been engaged in industrial welfare work for a long period of years, in large and small concerns, and in many different trades, are fully aware that not only is it impossible for one formula to cover every case, but that on many matters there are serious differences of opinion among Welfare Workers themselves. They feel, however, that the points of agreement far outweigh in importance those about which differences exist, and that the accounts of actual experiments here detailed may be of use in demonstrating the part they believe industrial welfare has to play in reconstruction.

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WELFARE WORK IN INDUSTRY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE events of the past few years have proved, even to the most sanguine members of the community, that something is wrong with industry. Bad trade, followed by a series of strikes, lock-outs, and an appalling amount of unemployment, has accentuated the flaws in the present industrial system. Perhaps the greatest need of this country at the present moment is industrial prosperity—something much deeper and more important than merely material prosperity—and this, we believe, can only be obtained by a return to a recognition of the importance of every individual who helps to make up the world of industry.

THE INDIVIDUAL IS APT TO BE OVERLOOKED IN A SYSTEM OF LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION

Most of the trouble to-day is the result of the rapidity with which the factory system developed over a hundred years ago, as a result of the new discoveries of the eighteenth century. The almost unbelievably great increase in material wealth confused the scale of values, and the amazing speed with which poor men grew rich lent credibility to the idea that *laissez-faire* was a moral as well as an economic ideal. The sudden possibility of the large-scale production by machinery of things which had hitherto been produced slowly by hand, led to the almost complete disregard of the personal needs and rights of those who had to work the machines. It is not for us to discuss here who was to blame for this, or why succeeding generations,

instead of remedying the evil, allowed it to get worse. In fact, nearly the whole community was blinded by the glamour of the constantly increasing material wealth produced in such unheard of abundance by the new industrial methods. What concerns us to-day is to realize that it is this disregard of men as human beings which has led us into the present disastrous situation.

For some time past men have been trying to discover an answer to the question, "What is wrong with Industry?" And in seeking for that answer the old idea of "master and man" is being gradually superseded by that of "fellow-worker." We are coming to recognize that if the fullest productive results are to be obtained we must enlist the co-operation of the personality behind each pair of hands. An increasing number of employers have realized that proper attention must be given to the relationship between man and man in a business, and that in a large concern it is imperative that a special department should exist for that purpose ; for the larger a firm becomes, the less possible is it for the employer himself to keep in touch with all the workers. Welfare work at its best is the voluntary expression on the part of the employer of his recognition that the employees in the firm are his fellow-workers in an undertaking for the service of the community, and at its worst it is merely a business proposition. It is true that welfare work does pay, but it will never attain its real object if it is instituted with that end only in view. The task of the employer to-day is to find a unity of aim between himself and his fellow-workers, in order that they may work together in harmony, and an employer who at a large public meeting recently said, "Capitalism must conform to the Christian ideal or pass away," was not representing merely his own point of view. Industry is not, or should not be, primarily concerned with the making of money, but unless constant thought is given to the human factor in industry, the materialistic aim will inevitably remain uppermost.

WELFARE WORK IS ONE METHOD OF COMBATING THIS TENDENCY

And this is where welfare work comes in—it exists to ensure that every man engaged in the business is considered and is given his due importance in the scheme of things, and to prevent the inevitable disharmony which comes from lack of thought or understanding in matters affecting any section of the workers. The particular form which welfare work will take in a given firm depends largely on the size and nature of the business. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is impossible to draw up a standardized scheme which would be suitable for all factories or even for different classes of factories ; each business presents a special problem which must be considered separately by the people who are concerned in its solution. Nearly all successful welfare schemes have been the result of spontaneous growth from within the factory or business house itself. We cannot do more in this small volume than point to the chief lines along which some successful schemes have been and are developing, in the hope that the experience of others may be of help to those who are considering the problem with regard to their own factories.

In the first place it should constantly be remembered that to be effective welfare should permeate the whole of the organization of a business, and not be considered as a separate scheme set up to counteract the bad effects of the rest of the business. Welfare will never be successful if its aims are regarded as opposed or unrelated to those of other sections of the firm. It must be clearly recognized that the welfare of the workers and the welfare of the business are inseparably united.

HISTORY OF THE WELFARE MOVEMENT

(a) EARLIEST RECORDS. Through all the undoubtedly evils of the Factory System in England there has persisted the idea that industry has an obligation to discharge to

the workers who take part in it. In the early days of the nineteenth century the number of employers who took this view was exceedingly small, and beyond the outstanding instance of Robert Owen's Mills at New Lanark, there are only a few records of any experiments in improving working conditions during that period. It does not seem to have been until towards the end of the nineteenth century that definite schemes for betterment were here and there established. Many employers had for some time past been making valuable social experiments by improving the general standard of conditions under which work in their factories was carried on, when the Consolidated Factory Act of 1901 summarized results, and, by insisting on a legal minimum standard, laid a broad foundation of general rules for health, safety, hours of work, and prevention of the most obvious occupational diseases.

(b) THE PRE-WAR PERIOD. It is impossible to give accurate figures concerning this period, but probably at least twenty firms in Great Britain had initiated a specialized Welfare Department of some sort—(amongst the better known of these were—Messrs. Rowntree, Cadbury, Fry, Hudson Scott, Reckitt, Cash, and Colman). These schemes were confined for the most part to the provision of facilities for health (canteens, ambulance rooms, medical advice and treatment, etc.), recreation and education, and were in their initial stages undertaken in a spirit of benevolence rather than with the idea of improving productive efficiency or making fundamental changes in factory organization.

By 1913 the Industrial Welfare movement—although little known outside the factories concerned—had gradually taken root and developed and, where it had been tried, was coming to be recognized as a fundamental necessity of the organization. Much had already been achieved, and the movement was becoming a real force when the war came and the normal and gradual development of welfare work was arrested. With the demand for munitions

necessitating the entry into industry of large numbers of women and girls, and their employment on dangerous and heavy work, welfare received a sudden and artificial stimulus from Government.

(c) THE WAR. All sorts of isolated experiments and efforts were brought together into a co-ordinated movement, and the Health and Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions was set up. The appointment of a Welfare Worker in all Government and controlled factories was made obligatory, stress being laid upon the importance of the improvement of physical conditions in factories as a means of increasing output and as a safeguard to the health of the workers. The chief motive behind this movement was the desire on the part of the State to conserve the strength of the vast numbers of women employed on war work under conditions which made abnormal demands on their health and energies. Attention was, therefore, especially directed to proper feeding, clothing, and first-aid management, and the careful selection of workers from the point of view of health. It became common for Welfare Workers to engage all labour after a medical examination by the specially appointed doctor.

It was during this period that misconceptions with regard to welfare work arose, and it is difficult to see how this could have been avoided. In the face of a sudden demand for a large supply of trained supervisors when none were available, it was natural that untrained people were appointed, and that they should have made mistakes. It was natural, too, that, as many of the people making these appointments knew little or nothing of the methods of the work, some of those chosen should have been entirely unsuitable ; only too often the employer knew little and understood less of the possibilities and aims of the welfare movement, and was, therefore, inclined in favour of the person who appeared likely to leave conditions as they were. An enforced scheme of welfare work is never likely to be wholly successful, but in spite of the bad results

observable in some firms where schemes were inaugurated owing to direct government compulsion, much experimental work, which would otherwise have been impossible, was done during the war in munition factories, and the knowledge and experience thus gained should not be underrated. In particular the Ministry of Munitions' Health of Munition Workers Committee will long be remembered, both for the service it rendered in stimulating public opinion with regard to the national necessity of safeguarding the health of industrial workers, and in investigating the best means of so doing.

(d) THE RETURN TO NORMAL. After the Armistice, when most of the Munition factories closed, there was inevitably a great reduction in the number of factories requiring Welfare Workers. Those employers, too, who had acted under compulsion and merely to comply with the conditions imposed on those who sought government contracts, naturally abandoned their schemes as soon as war conditions ceased. At the same time many employers who had originally made the experiment rather reluctantly came to the conclusion that they could not afford to abandon this policy. The reduction in numbers of Welfare Departments was therefore not a sign of reduction in the strength of the movement. The employer who unwillingly carries on a welfare scheme is a contradiction in terms. To-day, once more, the initiative rests with the employer, except in those factories where the provision of certain material amenities, such as protective clothing, mess and cloak rooms, necessary for the welfare of the workers, is required by law.

Welfare work is now, by a very large number of firms, accepted as an essential part of their organization. There are instances of large combines that have adopted the welfare principle and drawn up schemes to apply (with the necessary modifications) to all their amalgamated factories. There are other instances where factories, which are too small to bear the entire cost of a Welfare Department,

have joined with several other factories in the same district to share the salary of an efficient person whose duty it is to advise on welfare matters.

Welfare work had its origin in factories, and factories, moreover, which employed a large percentage of women and girls. The movement has, however, spread far and wide through industry, and now nearly every trade is represented and in some cases, as, for example, in coal mining, practically all the employees are men. The railway companies have well organized Welfare Departments, as also have some of the large department stores, banks, and insurance offices. In these cases conditions vary so enormously that the application of the fundamental principles is inevitably very different. For this reason the factory has been taken as the standard in this book, for it will be found almost invariably that the practice in factories can be applied, with obvious modifications according to local conditions, with equal success in other types of business enterprise.

THE SCOPE OF WELFARE WORK

Whatever the size of the concern may be, it is usually found convenient to put one person in charge of the various welfare activities. This officer appears under various names, such as "Welfare Supervisor" or "Employment Manager," according to the firm in which he works. His functions vary according to the circumstances—no two factories are alike. He is usually responsible for seeing that workers are placed in jobs for which they are physically and temperamentally fitted, and that they have opportunities for training and development of initiative. He may be responsible for seeing that all legal requirements regarding employment are carried out, for co-operating with the Factory Certifying Surgeon with regard to the medical examination of young workers, and for seeing that the working conditions and general environment are as good as the firm can afford to make them. He is

consequently responsible for first aid, canteen, and cloak-room arrangements, and often has a great share in promoting facilities for education and recreation.

In all these matters the Welfare Worker either works through existing departments, co-ordinating and following up the work of specialists, or is directly responsible for them himself, according to circumstances. His aim is always to ensure that everything connected with the employment of labour is carried out as well as possible, and not himself to assume authority unnecessarily. But, when all this is secured the most important point remains—the creation of harmony; and the co-operation of management and workers alike is needed for this.

SUCCESSFUL WELFARE WORK IS THE RESULT OF CO-OPERATION

If people are to understand one another they must know one another. In the past many employers have attempted to deal from a distance with intimate problems regarding their workers. But a true knowledge of people can only be obtained through contact. The Welfare Worker must try to find the place for this direct contact, rather than attempt, as some have done, to interpret the workers to the employer, and vice versa. One place for contact which never fails if the right spirit is there, but for which even then much preparation and following-up is needed, is a Works Committee, where management and workers meet together to discuss the things which concern them both. This method involves exchange of confidence—not a dominance of one section over another. Both sides must give, and it is in this that they discover their unity of aim, which only comes through the knowledge that all are working as interdependent parts of one big whole—Industry—whose purpose is the service of mankind.

(a) THE EMPLOYER. The appointment of a Welfare Worker is in itself evidence that to some extent, at least, the firm regards its employees as partners in the social service.

of production, not merely as a source of energy to be converted into profits. And this idea of partnership and co-operation involves in practice—

(1) the good organization and efficient management of the business, the entire management being agreed on the principle of co-operation involved;

(2) the recognition that change may be desirable and an open mind as to how it will come about;

(3) patience in face of the inevitable results of the *laissez-faire* system.

This does not mean that without these essentials a firm cannot begin to do welfare work at all. But it does mean that it must be prepared to go along these lines in order to attain the ideal. This is the only satisfactory basis on which genuine welfare work can be established.

(b) THE MANAGEMENT. One of the first things to be realized is that the entire management, including sectional heads of departments, must co-operate in putting into practice the principles adopted by the firm. It is, however, a common mistake to suppose that in setting up a special department the rest of the management is more or less relieved of any further responsibility in the matter. On the contrary, it is only in so far as the department thus established is able to develop the welfare spirit existing throughout the entire firm, and to give it the fullest possible effect, that it can hope to achieve its purpose. It by no means follows, therefore, that only those firms are doing welfare work which have a Welfare Department, while on the other hand, the mere existence of a Welfare Department is no guarantee that welfare work really is going on.

That the general policy of the firm with regard to wages, hours, and working conditions is a matter closely affecting the welfare of the workers is generally recognized. But the connection of welfare work with business organization and methods is not so often realized.

A well organized business is essential. It implies the best economical use of all available resources of the plant

and personnel, and the best possible conditions of work. The atmosphere of the place is good. There are order and reason in all that is done, and satisfaction in taking part in work that is well planned, and in feeling that the most is made of each unit. From the point of view of salary or wages a well-organized business allows the highest possible remuneration for the work performed. Another aspect of the matter which is rarely recognized in this connection is the influence of a well-organized business on continuity and security of employment. Obviously the welfare of the worker requires a reasonable prospect of full and regular employment, and only in a well-organized business can such a prospect be looked for with any degree of certainty.

A few "beauty spots" in a business do not constitute welfare work. Recognition of the firm's responsibility in this matter does not consist mainly in providing canteens, institutes, and ameliorative schemes of various kinds, desirable as these may be and often are in themselves, but finds its first and most real expression in the relation between management and workers, and in working conditions generally. When this relation is right, the rest inevitably follows. Every member of the management is concerned with this in some way or other, and his attitude necessarily affects the welfare policy of the firm either consciously or unconsciously.

The co-operation of the entire management is, therefore, essential if there is to be real welfare work. This is especially true of the sectional heads of departments, or foremen and forewomen. In fact, their attitude and the methods they adopt towards the workers form the basis of any sound scheme of welfare. It is increasingly realized that, as the firm's policy usually reaches the workers through the medium of the foremen and forewomen, their sympathetic interpretation of any scheme is vital to its success. They are, after all, that part of the management which comes into most normal and regular daily contact with

the workers. Schemes introduced by the higher management, however carefully planned, can only become really operative with the goodwill of the foremen and forewomen. They exercise a tremendous influence on the arrangement and organization of the work itself and the comfort and safety or otherwise in which the work is done. In fact, on their attitude and their handling of the problems of management in their own sections, depend almost entirely the real conditions of working life. Their co-operation is therefore, of the utmost importance, and they may well be regarded as the outposts of the Welfare Department.

In view of this fact, and of the very real power of the foremen and forewomen, too great care cannot be exercised in their selection. Unfortunately, more often than not the chief, if not the only consideration, is technical ability. This is, of course, important, but equally important are the qualities of organization, leadership, and loyal co-operation required for the proper fulfilment of their task. If a firm is really serious in its determination to carry out its responsibilities towards its employees, it will naturally want to appoint as its representatives those who are imbued with the same spirit. As an example may be mentioned the training and grading of young workers so as to prepare them for adult working life. This should be an important part of the welfare policy of any firm, but it can only be accomplished with any real success with the interest and help of the foremen and forewomen, who understand better than anyone else the practical details involved. If they are really keen to put welfare principles into practice they are in a better position to find ways and means than anyone outside the department. It will often require much time, and patience, and considerable initiative and foresight, but if the particular foreman is the right man in the right place, it is difficult to exaggerate the value of his contribution towards the solution of that or any other problem affecting the work in his department.

(c) THE WORKERS. The support and co-operation of the workers themselves must be secured before any real progress is made, and here patience is required. We inherit to-day the distrust and dislike bred in the past years of bad conditions, and we cannot hope to transform this state of affairs by waving any magic wand. The only way to win confidence is to deserve it. Honesty of purpose on the part of the management will be recognized in the long run. A genuine and disinterested desire on the part of a firm for the true well-being of its employees is thus the only satisfactory foundation on which to build. If there is the slightest suspicion on the part of the workers that there is any ulterior motive behind the introduction of welfare work, it is bound to fail. For example, any use of welfare schemes as an advertisement, however indirect, is fatal. Such action carries with it the suggestion that good conditions of work are a favour kindly bestowed upon the workers by a beneficent employer rather than a recognition of his responsibility in the matter and an acknowledgment of what is due to them. The fact that the provision of good working conditions is made the basis of an appeal to the public to purchase, is in itself a serious reflection on industrial conditions generally, and though there is certainly much to be said for awakening the public conscience on the matter, this method remains a doubtful expedient since it inevitably suggests that the improved conditions of work are regarded as a means to securing a better market.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ARE EVERYWHERE THE SAME,
BUT THEIR APPLICATION VARIES ACCORDING TO LOCAL
CONDITIONS

There is a tendency observable, not only in industry, for those who have the welfare of others at heart, to seek to supply ready-made schemes of betterment. This is the result of a natural impatience of bad conditions, and the feeling that if only our protégés had been blessed with

our education and experience they would appreciate the benefits of the schemes we urge. This tendency is to be deplored. It entirely ignores the fact that the experience and education gained in working out the scheme is often more valuable than the actual results of the scheme itself.

The principle of self-determination must be fully admitted if the true welfare of the individual is honestly considered. Indeed, the education of the worker, in the broadest sense of the word, must be the constant concern of welfare work. For it must be borne in mind that a fuller and better life cannot be achieved by any ordering of external conditions, however ideal. True growth must come from within rather than from without, and the first essential is the desire followed by the active striving after something higher and better. The wise reformer will, therefore, always be on his guard against ready-made, cut and dried schemes, realizing that while fundamental principles remain the same all the world over, their working out will vary enormously according to local conditions. A scheme evolved in course of discussion and as the result of mutual agreement may be slow in developing and, when complete, less perfect technically than the ideal, but it will almost invariably be more vital, more workable, and less dependent on artificial stimulus than the ready-made article, largely because the people who have helped to draft it have seen visions and dreamed dreams in the process. Progress on these lines is often slow, but it is sure. Much time must be spent in laying foundations, and laying foundations is not usually a spectacular piece of work, but it remains true that a house built on the rock will endure.

CHAPTER II

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE WELFARE WORKER

As industry is at present constituted the initiative in starting welfare work almost inevitably lies with the employers. With the discussions leading up to the decision we are not here concerned. Our interest begins when the employer has decided that he will adopt the methods of welfare work in his business. Except in very small concerns it is essential that definite machinery shall be set up to carry out this policy, and this entails the appointment of an officer to act as executive. The title given to this officer is immaterial—as Welfare Worker, Employment Manager, Staff Director or under some other name, he will invariably be found in charge of the work in those businesses where it is successfully carried on.

NECESSITY OF

(a) THOROUGH TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE. On the suitability of this officer very largely depends the success of the experiment. It would seem almost a truism to state that the greatest possible care should be exercised in the appointment, and yet sad and bitter experience compels us to emphasize this point. The extraordinarily unsuitable appointments sometimes made are only explicable by the fact that the movement itself is so new that the technique and full significance of the work is as yet but little understood. The good canteens, medical services, educational and recreational opportunities which often accompany welfare work are frequently regarded by the casual onlooker as essentials.

They are, in fact, but the outward and visible signs of a mental outlook on the part of both employers and workers which, while it almost inevitably finds expression in the provision of such amenities, is itself the only thing,

worth seeking. Obviously, the person who is to guide this expression without unduly influencing its form must be able to take a comprehensive view of the situation ; such is only possible to one who has studied the industrial problem in its varied aspects and intricate relationships. For example, a competent organizer will run a works canteen quite satisfactorily up to a point, but will not of necessity make of that canteen a channel for the expression of the corporate life of the factory. To do this requires a combination of practical ability with vision which is commonly found only in those who, possessing imagination and sympathy, are also disciplined by training and experience. Welfare work itself is of such recent origin that schemes for the training of the Welfare Worker are still largely experimental and tentative. The best are based on the Home Office Report, and the report of the Joint University Social Studies Board, and particulars of these are given in the Appendix.

(b) FULL DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES. Here it is only necessary to note that a firm intending to open a Welfare Department should make every effort to find someone whose personality and equipment are suited for the work contemplated. It is of equal importance that he should be in general sympathy with the Directorate, and especially with the Managing Director, with whom co-operation must be as complete as possible. Care must be taken to discuss thoroughly the aim and intention which is to animate the work of the department, for otherwise mutual understanding and trust are impossible.

(c) SYMPATHY AND CO-OPERATION OF EMPLOYEES AND STAFF. It must be remembered, moreover, that the co-operation of the workers is absolutely necessary if the welfare work is to be really effective. It is, therefore, most helpful if some of the more prominent employees are consulted in this matter. They should be informed of the intentions of the firm, and as the work in contemplation is one in which they will be asked to share, they

should have an active part in the planning of it. Even when the person selected to co-ordinate the work is eminently suitable both by temperament and experience, an appointment made arbitrarily by the directors without consultation with anyone is likely seriously to jeopardize the success of the experiment.

(d) CAREFUL INTRODUCTION. This mistake is only too often followed up by a second ; the Welfare Worker being left, a stranger in a strange factory, with no guidance save the warning that his position is not defined, that the idea of welfare work is quite new, and will naturally be unpopular, that he must make his way as well as he can, and that, of course, he must be "tactful." Can anyone avoid making serious and great mistakes under such circumstances ? Only too often the Welfare Worker loses courage very quickly under the strain and resigns, or in an access of confidence, born of a sub-conscious fear, rushes in where Angels fear to tread, and thereby creates obstacles which may take years to overcome. It cannot too often be emphasized that a careful appointment must be followed by careful introduction to the factory staff.

A SUGGESTION

It may be useful here to give details of a successful scheme which is being carried out by a large combine in the North of England. A great deal of preparatory work is done by a consultant before any idea of an appointment is mooted, in any one of the firms in the combine. The consultant visits at the express wish of the Board, and, after the mutual exchange of ideas with the General Manager, is handed on to the next official, and so on lower down the rungs of the ladder until the rank and file is reached. By that time a certain atmosphere of curiosity and interest has been aroused, and suggestions are made as to the directions in which the work of the Welfare Department would prove helpful. A report of findings and recommendations is submitted and considered, and a list of the

proposed duties and functions of a Welfare Superintendent drawn up. This list is circularized amongst all the officials of the firm, and then a meeting is called at which the consultant is present. Criticisms are made, and after a reasonable discussion the idea is either turned down or acted upon. In nine cases out of ten it is acted upon, and a Welfare Superintendent appointed. The workpeople and management being familiar with the idea, accept it as one of their own, and give it whole-hearted support.

A common mistake at this point is that the employer fails to realize that his duty is not ended by the appointment, nor are his difficulties over. He has, in fact, appointed a representative to carry out certain functions which would otherwise be his, and he must, therefore, be prepared to give time and attention to the discussion of policy with him, just as, in the ordinary course, he gives it to the head of any other department. How otherwise can the interpretation which the Welfare Worker must make, be of service when only one side of the case is ever seen? The employer should, therefore, endeavour to have a *regular* consultation with his Welfare Worker.

The Board of Directors of the Combine which has been mentioned before, find it to their advantage to hold regular monthly meetings with their Welfare Worker in attendance. The meeting is called as all other meetings are, and the Welfare Department is thus established as an integral part of the concern. At these meetings the principles of the work are discussed and defined, and the policy is framed for the guidance of the firm, the Management, and the Welfare Worker. It has also been found advantageous to have regular monthly reports submitted to the employer or General Manager. Such a report briefly notes work done, and the recommendations for the future, leaving out all extraneous matter.

VISIBLE PROGRESS IS AT FIRST SLOW

The mere fact of the entry of a Welfare Worker into a

factory does not result in a transformation in personal habits, in behaviour, in work, or in attitude of mind, either on the one side or the other. It does not immediately draw employed and employer together, it does not clear the path and allow each side to understand the other or do away with suspicion. The Welfare Worker cannot possibly do any concrete work for some considerable time; probably three to six months will elapse before *any* signs of activity appear, and employers must be prepared for this. The Welfare Worker, too, must possess his soul in patience, and learn to play a waiting game. It is very difficult to listen to the various needs and desires of both sides, when one is anxious to assist, and yet to remain to all appearances inactive while the preparatory work is done. Knowledge and training will here come to our aid, and the Welfare Worker will realize that he must first study the geography of the building, the conditions of the trade and of the particular concern, and finally the psychology of both the mass and the individual. Given that the plan finally suggested has been carefully thought out, and affords scope for powers which have hitherto lain dormant, development will follow naturally, and it is astonishing how quickly the movement will grow.

GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT RATHER THAN INNOVATIONS SHOULD BE THE AIM

A Welfare Worker must have a roving commission, which will naturally call forth objections. Such objections are quite easy to understand, for it is unusual to have a stranger moving from one department to another. The Departmental Managers generally remain in their own department, and therefore it is natural that all sorts of suspicions and surmises should arise when one person (and a new-comer to the works) has the power and authority to move in and out as he likes. A wise Welfare Worker will, therefore, find as soon as possible some routine duty which will take him naturally and frequently into and

about the works. His choice must depend on local circumstances ; the organization of first aid, for example, or of canteen facilities, may need attention. Sometimes fresh regulations for the accommodation of clothing will serve, or the notification of some educational classes, or the collection of insurance cards, or the looking up of sick absentees. But whatever it is the new-comer should always aim first at improving existing facilities rather than making sudden changes. The newly appointed Welfare Worker (and his employer) must have infinite patience. It is comparatively easy, given the requisite funds, to make dramatic improvements in the material conditions under which work is being carried on, and to establish elaborate schemes for recreation and education outside working hours. But, without undervaluing in any way the benefit of such improvements, we maintain that it is better in the long run for employers and workers to plan these *together*, even though this may entail delay and possibly modification in the scheme ultimately adopted.

SOUND WELFARE WORK IS THE OUTCOME OF THE COMMUNITY SPIRIT

If conditions exist definitely harmful to health or morals, or contrary to the intention of the Factory Acts, these must, of course, be remedied at once, but this legal minimum of safety is presumably already secured before any firm can be held to consider welfare schemes as practicable at all. We confess to a profound suspicion of "Welfare Schemes" as such when these are not the natural outcome of a community sense, which can only develop slowly as a result of joint action and common interests in which all sections of the community share. To promote this community spirit is the main object of wise welfare work, for only through it can any real and lasting benefit accrue. It is the existence of this spirit which makes life in many small firms (under physical conditions often far from ideal) so much preferable to that in large concerns, which though

able to install all the latest material improvements, cannot easily succeed in preserving the individuality of each worker. This sense of responsibility for and to his fellows as partners in one common undertaking can completely transform the life of the worker, and on it alone is built any real welfare, whether of the little community of the workshop or the greater one of the Municipality or of the State. The industrial conditions of the last century have done much to destroy this spirit, but it is not dead, and it is surprising how quickly it revives, given a little encouragement and opportunity. We shall return to this point later, but would here emphasize our belief that the first duty of a Welfare Worker is to sense where this spirit exists, to encourage it by providing opportunities for its exercise, and at all costs to avoid interrupting its natural development. Welfare work is not a device by which the so-called good employer provides benefits for his workers, but should be a co-operative effort on the part of both employers and workers to secure health and prosperity for both. Every opportunity should be taken, especially in the early stages in any given firm, to foster this community spirit. And for this purpose the ordinary routine of daily factory life can be just as effective as the games field. Good order in the cloakrooms and canteens, for example, may be attained far more effectively through a representative committee than by rules and regulations, if care and thought are devoted to the committee. And not only is the primary object in view secured, but a sense of personal responsibility for the common good developed among the members which is of far greater ultimate value to society than the actual improvement in material surroundings involved.

THE "SOUL" OF THE FACTORY

At the risk of repetition it must be emphasized that every factory has its own peculiar character. Just as individuals, though living under similar conditions and,

with similar histories, differ to an extraordinary degree, so factories, though alike to all outward appearance, will be found to have totally distinct "souls."

This "soul" is not merely the public opinion of the community; it is a reality, almost a personality, distinct from and affecting, as in its turn it is affected by, every individual in the factory. Of the factory, no less than of a man, is it true to ask what is the profit if you "gain the whole world and lose your own soul"?

It is essential, therefore, that any new policy should be a natural and logical development from previous events. A new departure, however good in itself, which is not directly or indirectly the outcome of this factory "soul" cannot ultimately benefit the community, since it is an extraneous growth and not an integral part of the organic whole. The directing stimulus may, and often does, come from outside, but the energy must be supplied from within. This is perhaps the acid test of real welfare work, and is the truth behind the apparently paradoxical remark that "the best Welfare Worker does the least work, and that for his own elimination."

CHAPTER III

ACTIVITIES OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT

A GREAT deal of the daily work of the Welfare Worker is concerned with the routine supervision of the general conditions in the factory which, in some ways, may appear unimportant, but on which really depends in large measure the comfort and general tone. Indeed, in such matters as cloakrooms, canteens, and general cleanliness, careful and constant supervision is essential if a satisfactory standard is to be maintained. The most elaborate provision of such "amenities" is useless without subsequent supervision, and it is to lack of it that we may almost always attribute the state of affairs indicated when employers complain that the workers do not appreciate the facilities provided.

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS

The legal requirements are contained in the Factory Act, 1901, Police and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1916, and in sundry Home Office orders, and represent a standard far below that reached in the most modern factories. In these matters, the employer who provides good accommodation under proper supervision reaps a speedy reward, for the improved tone of the factory quickly attracts a better type of worker, and the improved health makes possible a more regular attendance.

CLOAKROOMS

When workers cannot bring tidy clothes to their work because of the lack of proper storage room, they cannot be self-respecting ; when they cannot bring mackintosh or umbrella or change of shoes in wet weather, because of the danger of pilfering, but must stay in wet clothes throughout the day, they will suffer from colds and rheumatism, etc. The standard in these matters has vastly

improved in the past twenty years, but much remains to be done. Notes of many practical points to be considered in arranging cloakrooms will be found in the Appendix, page 82.

CANTEENS

Similarly the provision of proper facilities for eating, if not for the cooking of meals for those workers, often the large majority, who cannot get home in the dinner hour, and cannot find suitable accommodation outside, is not always legally necessary but is always desirable. Canteens need not, and generally speaking should not, provide meals at less than cost price ; neither, of course, should they make a profit. With good management and a large turnover it is possible to make the canteen "pay its way," even when all overhead costs have to be met from the takings, but as a matter of fact the canteen is generally used for other purposes as well—for works meetings by the management, and for social meetings by the workers—so that the whole cost of rent and cleaning, heating, and lighting, cannot fairly be charged against the canteen. A very usual arrangement is for these charges to be met by the firm, while the canteen takings are expected to cover cost of food and service.

The success of a canteen depends first on its serving quickly and efficiently the kind of food the worker wants at reasonable prices, and secondly on its atmosphere—both mental and physical. It must be clean, comfortable, and well-ventilated, and it must be warmed to a reasonable temperature. In this connection it must be remembered that if the workers are engaged all day in work necessitating high temperature, the canteen must be warm enough to prevent it striking chill to *them*, i.e. it will probably appear too hot to the manager who has spent the day in his *office*! Secondly, it must be absolutely clear that when the worker enters the canteen he is entirely his own master. He comes as a free agent, in his own time, as a *customer*,

and not as an *employee* of the firm. This does not mean that there can be no order or discipline in the canteen, but it must be the order and discipline of a well-managed club, not of a well-managed factory. For example a notice regulating traffic at the counter should read "Customers are requested," not "Workers must."

For those cases where it is possible to put up new buildings for the purpose of a canteen work, the information and advice given in the Final Report of the Health of Munition Workers Committee (Cd. 9065) is invaluable, and there is no need to reproduce it here. Only too often, however, existing, and sometimes rather unsuitable, accommodation must be utilized. In such cases, before any alterations are attempted, it is advisable to consider carefully the type of service it is proposed to provide, and that the people who will actually have the supervision should be consulted. The "expert" who is accustomed to organizing in more or less ideal surroundings is not always the safest guide under conditions which must inevitably be somewhat makeshift. A canteen, even on a modest scale, is such a valuable part of welfare work that no firm should be deterred from organizing one by the fact that it is not possible at the time to make provision on the scale they would like. In a large concern, where many hundreds of meals will be served, the supervision and organization of the work will be a full-time occupation, and a specially trained person should be appointed—to work, of course, in conjunction with the Welfare Department. There are, however, many smaller concerns where the canteen must be supervised by the Welfare Worker along with the other branches of work. Notes intended mainly for such will be found in the Appendix, page 79.

CLEANING

The regular cleaning of the factory is provided for under the Factory Act, 1906, but here again the law states a minimum which should not be regarded as a desirable

maximum. The importance of scrupulous cleanliness can hardly be over emphasized—if we want the respect and co-operation of the worker we must treat him with respect also, and the first way of doing this is to make his material surroundings the best that can be in the circumstances. Elaborate schemes may be useful in many cases, but are by no means necessary in all, whereas cleanliness so far as possible in the work, and the means of personal cleanliness when work is over is a practicable proposition in every kind of factory.

To begin with, windows should be kept reasonably clean and free from obstruction, not only for the sake of the very real saving of artificial light which results, but because of the improvement in the health and spirits of the workers, which is equally important, if less capable of exact measurement. Fortunately, the plague of frosted glass which used to be regarded as a necessity in almost every factory, shows signs of abating, but clear glass almost completely obscured by dirt is almost more depressing, and windows, especially in towns, require very regular and frequent cleaning, if they are to be kept even reasonably clean.

Walls, too, accumulate a great deal of dust in the course of a year if they are not swept down between the annual visits of the white-washing brigade. Such walls not only give an uncared for, depressing effect to the rooms and passages, but are also a real source of danger to health. And why need it of necessity be *white* wash? A little colour costs little and makes a great improvement in the appearance, and often in the lighting effect, especially where artificial light is much used.

LIGHTING—HEATING—VENTILATION

The criticism is often made—What has the Welfare Department to do with lighting, heating, and ventilation? Surely these provisions are the work of the Works Engineer or Plant Manager? Primarily, they certainly are. As,

however, these provisions come under the heading of working conditions, and as the study of such conditions forms a large portion of the work of the Welfare Department, it is only natural that it should contribute a certain amount of criticism and opinion, holding what may almost be described, particularly in the small factory, as a watching brief on this side.

The enormous waste of energy that is of necessity expended by workers who have to carry on work in rooms that are badly equipped in this way, should equally with the loss in quality and quantity of production, persuade and influence employers to study primarily the material conditions under which their people work.

Good lighting, heating, and ventilation are as essential to the employee in the workroom, as the daylight, the sun, and the air to human beings on earth.

The systems of lighting, heating, and ventilating work places require expert guidance. Only too often there is very little system evident, and even where a good system was once installed, it will frequently be found that it is no longer good, sometimes because of fresh scientific discoveries, but more often because alterations have since been made in the arrangements of the rooms without regard to the system already installed. Much more attention has been paid to these matters of late, but constant care is required if work is to be carried on under the most favourable conditions. Much patience and understanding is needed in dealing with these matters, for though the actual complaint as made by the worker may be patently absurd, if it is constantly repeated, it is a danger signal, an indication that something is wrong even though the trouble has been incorrectly diagnosed. For example, workers often complain that they have not light enough when, as a matter of fact, they have so much and so badly placed that they are dazzled by it. In the same way the constantly recurring draught which is a bogey in so many factories is as often caused by too little as by too much air.

Detailed notes on all these points will be found in the Appendix, page 106.

FIRST AID AND CARE OF THE HEALTH

These two matters are, strictly speaking, distinct, but inasmuch as they are intimately connected they may be treated together. The legal requirements for first aid are contained in the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923. (See Appendix, page 88.) Given the minimum provision required only, there is still a world of difference in the value of such provision, both to the workers and to the firm, according as the administration is wise or otherwise. Everything depends on the person in charge. Too strict a disciplinarian will tend to make the workers shy of coming for advice, small ailments will be hidden, and small wounds tied up with a handy rag, while a sentimentalist will quickly fill the ambulance room with *malades imaginaires*, and at the same time make many of the other workers unwilling to come for treatment even when genuinely needed. A sensible, kindly, and "human" nurse, working in close co-operation with the Welfare Worker (so that investigations and "following up" can be carried out when required) can make of the ambulance room a centre radiating health of mind as well as of body. On this foundation, if the employer sees fit, can be built up a regular medical service, more or less elaborate as occasion requires and circumstances allow, but always of value both to the people directly concerned, and indirectly (owing to the research thus made possible) to society at large. Many large firms employ one or more whole time doctors and dentists, but much valuable preventive work can be done when a doctor attends only once or twice a week, provided the permanent regular health work in the factory is on wise lines. Further details will be found in the Appendix, page 90.

CHAPTER IV

ACTIVITIES OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT (*contd.*)— THE EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT

THE preceding sections have been devoted to a brief description of the obvious improvements in working conditions, and the safeguards adopted as a result of a firm beginning to consider the welfare of its employees in a systematic manner. Some of these arrangements may appear now so obvious as to be hardly worth mentioning, but as a matter of historical fact most of them have been the direct result of the welfare movement. Much still remains to be done, though the twentieth century has unquestionably seen a vast improvement in the standard of decency and comfort expected in industry. And even now the newly appointed Welfare Worker will probably find necessary much reform in these directions before any of the more modern methods of work can be successfully tried. Provision for the health and comfort of the workers is still the first care of the Welfare Department, and almost always the development of the work in each individual firm goes through the same phases as the movement as a whole has done.

SELECTION OF THE WORKER

As soon as the general working conditions in any firm are recognized by the community to be good, it almost invariably follows that more workers apply for engagement than formerly, and the problem of selection becomes more or less acute. It is natural, too, that the firm which spends money freely on preserving the health of its employees should begin to consider ways and means of, in the first place, engaging the most suitable workers, and in the second of securing that their services are retained as long as possible. These problems of the selection of the worker and of the stability of employment lead us to what may

be called the second phase of welfare work, when the department takes over the duties, if not the name, of Employment Department.

Until recent years applicants for the rank and file positions in industry were generally selected by very crude methods. The responsibility for engaging staff was delegated to foremen, who, burdened with other urgent duties, and lacking the time and qualifications which might enable them to form a judicious estimate of candidates' suitability, relied rather on discharging "failures" from the workshop than on choosing successes at the works-gate. Moreover, until the advent of costing systems a foreman was unable to compare the standard of efficiency attained by his staff with that reached by employees in other departments and, even if he realized that existing methods of work might be improved, he could neither obtain the help freely offered by industrial publications at the present day, nor any assurance that recognition would reward his efforts. It is hardly surprising that under these circumstances an applicant's chances of appointment depended largely upon his good fortune in applying for work when the firm was critically short-handed; and often upon his success in urging family or friendship claims rather than upon any real qualifications for the position.

When the responsibility for the engagement of labour in all departments is given to one authority—"an Employment Department"—assuming that a judicious appointment is made, the arrangement proves highly advantageous to both worker and employer, for while the former is assured of thorough and disinterested consideration and advice (not only at the time of selection, but afterwards, should difficulties arise in the course of his workshop experience) the latter finds the stability of his staff increased and a spirit of goodwill engendered throughout his factory, with consequent reduction in the overhead expenses of accident compensation, lost time, spoilt work, supervision, etc.

PROCEDURE

The procedure of an Employment Department in dealing with a worker seeking employment will follow roughly these lines—Each applicant at the works-gate (probably equipped with an introduction from a local employment bureau) will be conducted to the Employment Department and asked to fill in a form containing particulars about himself, and the kind of work he requires. In all probability he will at once be interviewed by the Employment Manager. The nature and extent of this interview will vary according to such factors as the frequency with which vacancies occur and suitable workers apply to the firm, the nature of the job sought, and so on. But its main object will be to enable the interviewer to judge whether the candidate is on general grounds likely to prove suitable, to obtain references, and to ensure that the applicant understands the prospects, hours, and wages of the particular job he seeks. Assuming the results of this interview to be satisfactory to both parties, the applicant's name will be entered on the waiting list, and when a suitable vacancy occurs, he will be notified to call again.

If the Employment Department is of but recent origin, the Employment Manager may be authorized only to make a first selection from among the applicants, and to send these individuals to the Departmental Manager for final selection (probably subject to medical examination) on technical or other grounds. Even at this stage, however, a distinct advance has been made, for the firm initiating an Employment Department soon finds that it now attracts a better type of applicant, partly because it has gained some credit locally for wishing to treat labour-relationships seriously, and partly because the Employment Manager has sufficient time to tap wider sources of supply and, by means of rating scales and subsequent analysis of the workroom careers of his choices, is in a position to form a more accurate judgment of an applicant's suitability than was previously possible to the foreman.

giving hurried interviews, often in highly unsuitable surroundings.

After experience and observation have proved the new methods the Employment Manager will generally so far gain the confidence of his departmental colleagues, that they entrust him with making the final selection of applicants (subject possibly to medical examination) on a temporary basis, with promotion to the regular staff after a probationary period.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

We cannot discuss engagement and selection of workers without referring to the recent developments in the application of psychology to this work. The Institute of Industrial Psychology is responsible for much of what has been done in this direction in England, and has already devised vocational tests in various occupations, which may usefully be applied to supplement the results of the personal interview. The limitations of the personal interview as a means of judging the particular aptitude of candidates for apprenticeship to any skilled trade are patent to anyone who has kept accurate records of the results of such selection. Probably nothing can replace the personal interview as a means of judging of the candidate's suitability from the social¹ standpoint, but undoubtedly carefully devised "tests" are often better able to distinguish the candidate with the natural qualifications and bent for the type of activities required to make him a successful workman in the particular trade concerned.

Consequently we now find the most advanced Employment Manager often supplementing the personal interview with a series of tests scientifically devised and weighted to afford him an objective measure of the candidate's suitability to fulfil the requirements of a particular job.

Whatever the method of selection adopted the aim is

¹ The word "social" is here used in its strictly literal meaning, not to imply any consideration of class or grade.

always the same—to keep the square peg out of the round hole, and to secure that so far as possible the new employee shall be fitted to undertake the work expected of him, and that he starts fair with a clear understanding of the rules and regulations under which he will work. To do this is in the interests of both parties, for, though there are no available statistics on the question, everyone will agree that an enormous amount of hardship and suffering is caused by the employment of persons on work for which they are ill-suited, and every works manager will appreciate the economic waste resulting from the poor output, damaged machinery, spoilt work, and accidents which frequently follow on unsuitable appointments. The constant change of staff which inevitably occurs where haphazard methods of engagement are the rule, is a cause of great waste, both economic, social, and industrial.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW WORKER

One of the most important functions of the Employment Department after the selection of the worker is his introduction into the works. It is usually arranged that the new employee shall report for duty to the Employment Department, where he complies with such formalities as signing the pay-roll, drawing his locker key and clock card, depositing his insurance cards, etc. He is then taken into the works and shown the canteen and cloakrooms, and is probably given a small handbook explaining the rules and notifying him of any arrangements, such as clubs, classes, savings schemes, pension funds, which may be of general interest to employees. The Employment Department is responsible at this stage, if not earlier, for personally introducing the new worker to the foreman of his department. Whatever the exact procedure adopted, and this must obviously vary from place to place, it is all directed towards emphasizing the fact that the contract entered upon is regarded by the management as a serious one, involving mutual obligations, respect, and consideration.

THE JUVENILE WORKER

The engagement of juvenile workers almost requires a section to itself. From the point of view of society as a whole, it is of first importance that the children leaving school shall as quickly as possible be placed in employment suited to their present capabilities, and such as will provide full scope and opportunities for advancement in the future. From the point of view of the individual employer it is important that the recruits coming into his business shall be those most likely to succeed in the type of work required of them, capable of being trained and likely to prove intelligent, interested workers. From the point of view of the child himself, his first few days in the industrial world will probably have a very far-reaching influence on his later life.

The Juvenile Advisory Committee of the local Employment Exchange makes a preliminary classification of the children at the time of leaving school, but of necessity this can only be a rough and ready attempt to guide them. In a business requiring many recruits it is well worth while for the Welfare Worker to keep in close touch with the Secretary of the Juvenile Advisory Committee, and provide a fairly detailed statement of the type of junior required, the prospects and general conditions offered by the firm. In the final selection of these young people, the psychological tests referred to above can be even more helpful than with the adult workman ; there should undoubtedly be a thorough medical examination, too, so that every care is taken to ensure that mentally and physically the child is fitted for the work offered. No junior should be engaged without the parent or guardian being also interviewed. Insistence on this not only emphasizes the importance of the step being taken, but ensures that the parent knows the full conditions of employment, and is in a position to co-operate with the management in the training of the young worker.

The selection being made, the child is instructed to

attend at a certain date and time for enrolment. This formality should be made the opportunity for getting to know each other. The routine of introduction explained above should be even more thoroughly carried out with juniors than with adults, and very full and clear explanations given of all details likely to be new in the child's experience, as for example, "clocking in," the method of issue of tools, etc., the wage system, and so on.

INITIATION SCHOOLS

So important are all these matters, and so much depends on the impression formed in the child's mind at the first contact with the works, that some firms have arranged so-called initiation or vestibule schools lasting from a day to two or three weeks. The newly engaged juniors are assembled in small groups, and given a regular course of instruction. The particular product of the factory is thoroughly explained, from the raw material to the marketable product, the method of manufacture is described and illustrated by lantern slides and visits to the actual departments ; the geography of the factory is described, and its organization, visits are paid to canteen, sports ground, power-house, etc. In some cases a simple account of the industrial system is given, and of the part played in it by the particular industry. If the firm is an old-established one, the history of its beginnings and development may be told and illustrated by old prints, etc. In short, a definite attempt is made to show the young person his new surroundings and make him feel that he is about to become part of a great community. In some cases where the school is prolonged, the actual processes of work which the young person will undertake are taught before he enters the factory as an employee at all.

It is not, of course, always possible to arrange a formal school of this kind, but it is always possible and eminently desirable to spend some time and much thought in making

the transition from school to work as easy and gradual as possible.

RECORDS

Another important function of the Employment Department is the keeping of adequate records. Here again the exact nature of these will depend on the nature of the trade and general conditions, but they will usually include the following particulars of each individual employed—name, address, date of birth, date of engagement, educational standard reached, previous employment, references taken up, department, grade of work and wage at which employment started, trade union membership, and all subsequent changes of work, wage rate, and address. These facts are usually entered on some form of index card, and when the individual leaves the employ of the firm the particulars as to date and cause are entered, and the card transferred from the "live" to the "dead" register for reference. In addition to the above facts, many firms keep an accurate record of each individual's time-keeping, absence, and cause thereof, and, where piece-work is the rule, of average weekly wages earned. These cards are also utilized in maintaining discipline, as is detailed in the next section. It is, of course, easy to multiply the records kept out of all proportion to their value, but the above details are the minimum required if justice is to be done when any individual's case comes up for consideration, and the time absorbed in keeping them accurately and up to date is comparatively negligible. The medical records have been referred to elsewhere.

TRANSFERS

In the forefront of their pressing needs and urgent desires, workers of every grade place security of tenure, and any scheme, system, or policy which makes for stability of employment is clearly of fundamental importance. Accordingly, of the many functions of the Employment

Department, none is more far-reaching or more important than that of transferring workers from one department to another as necessity arises, and the significance of its bearing on stability of employment is too obvious to need emphasis.

Transfers are effected at the request of the worker or of the departmental head, or sometimes solely at the instance of the Welfare Worker. The reasons for a transfer vary, but are generally bound up with questions of health, money, inability to do the job first assigned, or to work on piece, or to give satisfaction to the foreman. Further, when shortage of work in any department compels the management to reduce the staff, it lies within the province of the Employment Department to fit the superfluous workers into other departments according to their several qualifications. Obviously such work requires that the Welfare Worker shall have the full confidence of the management and of the departmental foremen. This must be earned by success. At first transfers of any kind are apt to be looked on with suspicion and dislike: if the worker to be transferred is competent, his foreman is probably most unwilling to let him go, even when in his department there is no chance of promotion: if he be incompetent the new foreman is likely to object strongly to receive "someone else's misfits." This attitude of mind can only be overcome slowly. Great patience and tact is required, but when transfers are made with care and discretion, the new idea will be adopted gradually, as it is realized that in the long run it works for the general good.

If a transfer is to be successful from the employer's and employee's point of view, it is essential that great pains should be taken over it. In the first place, in those firms which have a whole or part-time doctor, if an entire change of work or of conditions is involved, the worker should be medically examined and passed by the doctor as fit for the proposed new job. Due regard must be paid to the worker's character and previous experience, but above

all it is most important that the worker be interviewed and given a clear explanation of the reasons why (if the transfer be not of the worker's seeking) it is being arranged. If this is not done it is frequently found that the worker feels that he is the victim of chance, and is being "knocked about from pillar to post." The importance of an explanation of this kind cannot be exaggerated. An excellent opportunity is given to explain the difficulties of the management consequent upon fluctuation of trade, and the worker thus taken into the employer's confidence goes to the new job allotted to him in a quite different spirit. Finally, it should not be assumed that once a transfer is effected there is an end of it. On the contrary, it must be followed up, and in some firms there is a definite system whereby reports on the transferred workers' conduct and work are furnished at the end of the first fortnight and the first month.

PROMOTIONS

Promotions are generally made in consultation between the works manager, the foreman, and the Welfare Supervisor, the last from the very nature of his contact with the workers will look at them from a different angle from that of the foreman, and will have a definite contribution to make to the question. He may perform a useful function by taking a bird's-eye view of the situation, and by bringing forward as possible candidates for promotion workers from a different department¹ from that in which the vacancy occurs, thus making employees feel that merit tells, and that their rate of progress is not necessarily limited by the number of vacancies occurring in their own department. A promotion is generally completed by an interview at which information as to the new duties, increased rate of pay, and any privileges attaching to the job is given, and the promoted person is assured of the

¹ In some firms the feeling of departmentalism is so strong as to make it almost impossible to pursue this policy.

management's confidence in his ability to cope with the responsibilities and possibilities of his new sphere of action.

DISMISSALS

Dismissals may roughly be classified under four headings—those necessitated by—

- (1) Shortage of work.
- (2) An infringement of the rules, e.g. insubordination or bad time-keeping.
- (3) Inefficiency.
- (4) Health.

Every avenue should be explored before recourse is had to dismissal, and notice to leave only given in the last resort. To amplify—while there may be shortage of work in one department, in another orders may be consistently good, and a transfer may be effected as outlined above. It is clear that a Welfare Worker in his capacity of Employment Manager must keep in the closest possible touch with those responsible for production and sales, and have advance knowledge of possible new developments which will have an effect on questions of staff. In this way the Welfare Department, working in conjunction with the Sales and Production Departments, is able to size up the position as regards labour, and may often effect a transference from one department to another, and so save the firm from the pitfall of engaging one month and discharging the next.

The second class are referred to again on page 45. As regards dismissals on the ground of inefficiency, no one will be given notice to leave for this reason unless every effort has been made to effect a successful transfer as suggested above. Similarly, in cases of ill-health, every effort should be made to try the worker on another job or in another room, where conditions are different, to see that he follows his doctor's directions, and if necessary, is sent to a convalescent home or given rest intervals and any special care necessitated by the nature of the illness,

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCIPLINE

IT will be seen from the foregoing sections that a considerable amount of care is invariably exercised in the selection and engagement of the worker, and that, in some businesses at least, great attention is bestowed upon the manner of the new-comer's introduction to the factory. The worker enters a new world in entering a new factory, and immediately begins to react to atmosphere. Now, atmosphere is created in a variety of ways. Some hold that "the material detail dominates the physical and moral personality of the worker" and this conviction induces them to place added emphasis on health provisions, canteen facilities, and all that is implied in good working conditions as already outlined. Even so, however closely the material environment may approach perfection, other factors of a less tangible nature inevitably come into play and have their bearing on the question of discipline.

THE AIM OF DISCIPLINE IS TO DEVELOP CHARACTER AND EFFICIENCY

There are still men and women holding responsible positions in industry who look upon workers as "hands," not realizing the fact that each worker has a distinct individuality and personality of his own, which must be respected. This attitude is a stumbling-block, as will be clearly realized when it is remembered that the aim of discipline is to develop character and efficiency, and that the system in force should be such as will enable every worker to do and be his best; should set forth a positive aim rather than a negative commandment. Further, not only has the nature of the worker's job to be considered in its bearing on discipline, but also the effects of the periods of unemployment suffered in turn perhaps by every

member of the family, with inevitable results on their home life. Nor can we overlook at the present moment the upheaval which has resulted from a world-wide war, and the consequent examination into, and in some cases rejection of, existing standards.

WHEN THE PROBLEM OF DISCIPLINE BECOMES ACUTE

A turning point in the development of works discipline is reached just as soon as the number of employees becomes so large that the employer cannot personally know each one, his capabilities and his idiosyncrasies ; when, that is, he is obliged to depend on the reports of others for information on which to base his judgments. The problem of how to secure good order and justice in the works becomes more difficult of solution as the staff increases in size ; but since it is not as a rule a pressing one, is apt to be for long overlooked or only partially realized. Old customs die hard, and the natural dislike of disturbance, the ingrained conservatism latent in most of us, is a temptation to put off facing the situation until some crisis makes action imperative. Yet this problem by its very nature requires most careful thought and consideration, and is not one to be solved under pressure of time or circumstance. We should aim at the minimum of interference with individual liberty consistent with good order and efficiency ; at a just and uniform administration within the works, and at full opportunity for the consideration of those hard cases which, though they make bad law, still remain to be treated with humanity and understanding.

The standard best system of factory discipline has yet to be found ; in all probability it never will be, for changing conditions mean changing customs, and the Common Law of the Works Community, like that of the nation, is always evolving. It is the result of a process of modification and slow accretion rather than of a definite act of creation. At any rate in England, where the labour turnover is so small that there is always a fair proportion of the staff (and in

many cases their fathers before them) who have grown up with the firm, the system of factory discipline is modified but slowly.

THERE SHOULD BE A DEFINITE CODE OF RULES STRICTLY ENFORCED

When a firm deliberately takes stock of the position, it is generally found that the existing rules, even when these have been more or less formally drawn up and printed, require considerable alteration. Several will probably be entirely obsolete, shibboleths which at one time meant something, but have long since ceased to be regarded as practical, though still included in the list of rules because no one has yet authorized their excision. Sometimes circumstances have so changed that the act forbidden or enjoined is no longer possible, sometimes public opinion has so altered in the course of time that the rule is entirely unnecessary, sometimes it has come to be tacitly understood that the rule need no longer be kept. In any case it is inadvisable for such a rule to remain on the official list. That list should be restricted to the absolute minimum deemed necessary, and should be strictly enforced, otherwise it is not worthy of respect.

THE CO-OPERATION OF THE EMPLOYEES MUST BE SECURED

The revision of the factory rules is a most useful piece of work for a joint committee to undertake. Obviously a number of rules and regulations cannot be forced on a body of workers, and an enlightened Board of Management will rather aim at the creation of an intelligent understanding on the part of the workers, with a resulting hearty co-operation in maintaining the standard of conduct and work implied in the rules. There is a very practical reason for the good results which always follow on an open discussion of the rules. Only too often it will be found that the average worker has such a vague conception of the ramifications of a large business that he is totally

unaware of the possibly serious results of a single careless mistake. Again the *raison d'être* of a rule is often unknown to any but the management, so that a perfectly reasonable regulation enforced without explanation appears in the light of an arbitrary dictation. The fact that representative workers have had a share in drawing up such a code is the greatest aid in securing its general observation, for public opinion is at once enlisted as an ally.

The method of administration of this code, once it is drawn up, raises another problem. In addition to the instances of direct violation of a recognized factory rule, there are those difficult cases which are provided for by no one rule, workers who cannot adapt themselves, but are always in some kind of trouble, the young worker who is idle and troublesome, and last, but not least, cases of alleged "impertinence." All these, and more, must be dealt with by somebody, and who is it to be?

THE FOREMEN'S POSITION

The necessary relation between responsibility and authority must not be overlooked, and this raises at once the knotty point of the scope of the authority of forepeople, charge hands, and supervisors, who are in close contact with the rank-and-file workers. The importance of selecting these carefully has already been referred to; from every point of view it cannot too often be emphasized. In their case almost more than in any other is it desirable to apply the methods of job analysis so often advocated by American writers. A good foreman is expected to be an industrial "Admirable Crichton," and is only too often paid a wage and offered general conditions totally unworthy of the work demanded from him. In fact, the peculiar combination of attributes (good leadership, powers of discipline and organization, ability to teach, technical ability, etc., etc.), found in the really competent foreman is rare, and the modern tendency to divide his functions among several officials, who are definitely trained for the

work in view, is probably on the right lines. Whatever his title, however, and his exact duties, there will always be some one person immediately in contact with the workers and responsible for output, and the problem of the scope of this person's authority remains for solution.

NEED FOR SOME JUDICIAL AUTHORITY INSIDE THE WORKS

Experience has shown that while the foreman's authority must be loyally supported, it is unwise to entrust him with power to inflict punishment. In the first place such a system would inevitably lead to inequality of treatment as between different departments. In the second, the foreman who is plaintiff cannot with justice be also judge. Human nature has its limitations, and few of us would claim to be able to act impartially in such a position. It is clear that the case must come before some other authority, some one who is at least removed from the actual irritation of the occurrence. More and more is it now the custom that foremen shall refer all cases to the works manager for settlement. In many firms one of the directors holds a periodical "court," at which all complaints are considered. This secures at any rate that the influence of personal irritation is eliminated. A further stage is reached when it is recognized that the offender may choose one of his fellows, or even an official of his trade union, to act as his advocate, and the inquiry takes place before several high officials, who together adjudicate on his case.

Such a system must inevitably involve much time and trouble on the part of the higher management, and it may be argued that it is unnecessarily elaborate, and even that the gain is not worth the cost. Time alone can prove this. At present all that can be said is that year by year more firms have thought it advisable to initiate such schemes, and that, on the whole, they have so far proved successful. It is worth remembering in this connection that the object of good discipline is primarily to prevent the occurrence

of the offence, not to punish the offender, and that the more certain the individual is that all the facts will be elicited in a close inquiry, the less likely is he to offend. The average person dislikes the sentence following on a rather slow and formal inquiry far more than punishment administered in the heat of the moment of discovery, which is at least as likely to err on the side of leniency as of severity, in enduring which he will have the sympathy, more or less openly expressed, of his fellow workers, and which he has a sporting chance of avoiding altogether. But far more important than the effect on the offenders, who in any case are a small part of the community, is the effect on the general tone in the factory. A feeling of security and confidence is engendered in course of time among the whole body of workers, and an atmosphere of goodwill results, which is the strongest possible pledge of good order.

PENALTIES

Nothing has so far been said of the penalties imposed for transgression of factory rules. The old-fashioned system of fines is now generally admitted to be bad. In many places it has been found that except in cases of repeated offence it is sufficient to make a formal entry of misconduct on the offender's record card—these entries being considered when questions of promotion or special privilege arise. In some firms the "black marks" are as formally expunged after a set period, say two years, of good conduct. When more drastic treatment is required suspension from work, or from certain privileges, or even loss of seniority is resorted to, after due warning. Dismissal is a penalty which should very rarely be inflicted, and only after other less severe punishments have been found ineffectual.

PROBLEM OF BAD TIME-KEEPING

Bad time-keeping is one of the commonest forms of bad discipline, and is one which causes far more disorganization

and slackness than is often recognized, far more than can be measured by the actual loss of output on the part of the individual offender. Lost time has been characterized as one of the "diseases of industrial life," and like every other disease it must be diagnosed. As the causes are largely personal it follows that an examination into them falls to the lot of the Welfare Department. Generally speaking, workers are late or absent owing to reasons of health (their own or their relatives'), home conditions, or difficulties of transport ; a sympathetic inquiry may also bring other unsuspected factors to light. A Government Committee set up to examine the question of lost time reported that "the loss of time directly or indirectly due to fatigue and ill-health is substantial, and is, as a rule, greatly underestimated," but on the other hand "there would seem to be a tendency to overestimate that due to slackness, laziness, or wilful idling." Obviously there can be no hard and fast rules for dealing with the problem. The cure will vary with the cause.

It may be doubted whether the system of fines or "stopping" for lost time which is generally in force is a real deterrent : once the fine is paid, the worker thinks no more of it—he has paid for the time lost, and feels that his debt is completely discharged. Against this, the methods adopted by various Works Committees in co-operating with the Management in promoting and maintaining good time-keeping, are likely to be of infinitely greater value, from whatever point of view they are judged. Many workers are physically incapable of keeping good time, and their bad example has an undoubted effect on others : if ill-health be the root of the trouble, remedial and preventive measures can be suggested and, when necessary, facilities for obtaining treatment offered. The whole question of industrial fatigue (dealt with elsewhere) has a big bearing on this problem. Again, where the existing system of transport to and from work proves inadequate, a concerted effort may be made to obtain an improved

service of train, tram, or bus : the need for this has more than once been brought forward by Works Committees. Then, too, a sympathetic understanding of the difficult family circumstances of some workers will ensure that their "lates" and "absents" are not chalked up against them, and that allowance for exceptional circumstances will be made. The Welfare Department will welcome such an opportunity of strengthening the personal link between employer and employed.

REWARDS FOR PUNCTUALITY

Many firms have found it well worth while not only to abolish all fines, but also to introduce a system of rewards for good time-keeping. Some pay a holiday bonus based on the year's records as, for example, a day's pay for each "perfect" month. In this case it is generally found advisable to publish the records month by month on the notice boards so that interest is maintained throughout the year. Some firms give special privileges of other kinds. One of the schemes most appreciated is that by which special leave of absence is given, as for example, a Saturday morning in recognition of perfect time-keeping during the preceding month, or extra time added to the annual holiday where this is already paid for. Such schemes have been tried in many places with astonishing success.

Whatever scheme is adopted it is advisable to know exactly how much time is being lost, and why. An accurate departmental analysis of lost and broken time should therefore be made periodically, giving the percentage due to the different causes.

CHAPTER VI

WORKS COMMITTEES

THE growing appreciation of the value of mutual discussion is one of the most striking features of modern industry. The nation has acknowledged it in legislation, for example in the Trade Boards Act. It has also been voluntarily adopted in certain trades by the acceptance of the Whitley Committee system, and in individual firms its value has been proved again and again by the striking results in increased efficiency and smooth running directly attributable to Works Committees. The adoption of the Whitley system in full involves, of course, the complete organization of both employers and employed, and of the trade as a whole. At the present time comparatively few trades are so far advanced, and organization is very far from perfect. Though the impulse to organize is usually present, its expression is often only rudimentary, and we are face to face to-day with the chaos of the transition stage between the individualism of *laissez-faire*, and the collective bargaining of a completely organized industry. The whole situation is rendered still more difficult when the growth of the movement towards organization is revealed by hundreds of ineffectual attempts at expression. There are some observers who are prone to quote these failures as evidences of the fallacy of organizing, not recognizing that organization is a subject which is being slowly learned chapter by chapter. Resentment is shown to what is called the interference of the Shop Steward with the management of the shop, and much concentrated attention is given to this principle, and little, or no attention at all, to the particular condition in the shop about which the steward complains. Simultaneously objection is raised to the approaches made by an outside trade union official

(who may possibly have never worked in the trade, and in any case is not himself a victim of the conditions which he condemns), it being argued the while that the proper people to present the complaint are those engaged in the occupation. Again much time, thought, and discussion are given to the principle involved, whilst the real point (the shop condition) is brushed aside, and possibly not dealt with. In such circumstances as these the ameliorative influences of frank discussion of the problems of everyday life in industry are hindered.

Employers cannot take an active part in the organizing of the workpeople, but they can remove obstructions, and, by granting facilities for the consideration of questions concerning the local conditions of work, take the first step towards the establishment of harmonious relations. In every industry and in every business within each industry different conditions exist, and no one rule can be laid down for guidance in the manner of approach to the problem. A different set of conditions may exist in two establishments of the same company, and in each the atmosphere may be such as would require a different set of rules. Fundamentally, the problem is the same, and it is psychological. The employees desire the opportunity of taking part in the determination of the general conditions under which they are to work, and it may be said, in passing, that taking part in these deliberations leads more than half-way to their observance.

COMMITTEES IN INDUSTRY

We have long been familiar with Committees in Industry. To the small employers as well as the large establishments the Committee has been a useful instrument in dealing with various business matters. Advertising and financial questions, to mention only two, have been since the beginning of things dealt with by means of committees. A Board of Directors is, in a sense, a committee. It is only in the last quarter of a century, however, that we have

experimented with committees to deal with questions which affect the interests of the workpeople.

It is the experience of many employers that at least two committees are necessary. The one consists of workers only; at it take place preliminary discussions of any matters on which it is desired to make representations to the firm. The second is a joint committee, probably smaller and consisting of an equal number of representatives from the Workers' Committee and of Management; it will further consider matters referred to it by the Workers' Committee. The Workers' Committee will also finally deal with many things concerning the daily life of the works, collections, savings funds, probably recreation, and possibly education.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FOREMEN

One great difficulty of organizing successful works committees is the problem of the foremen and lower ranks of the management. It must frankly be confessed that a thoroughly satisfactory solution has yet to be found. Forepeople cannot fairly be represented by workers, nor workers by forepeople, neither are they represented by the Higher Management. If forepeople form a separate constituency and send one of their own members to the Joint Committee, discussion is likely to be limited by his presence. In the nature of the case many of the questions discussed will very intimately concern him and his powers. His position in the factory has already been described as a difficult one; he is apt, and often quite justly, to regard the inauguration of a works committee as a direct challenge to it. Probably the best arrangement is for the foremen and women to have their own organization, either electing representatives or, if numbers allow, themselves having the right to meet in committee previous to the Joint Works Committee meeting. They can then consider the Works Committee agenda, which is submitted to them as a matter of routine, and make representations on it if desired. Any decision of the general Works Committee which concerns

them either as a body or individually, even remotely, should be conveyed to them quickly and formally, as a matter of right, by the secretary, so that they are not left to learn of it haphazard and by indirect means. Some of the matters raised at the Joint Works Committee may involve criticism of the methods of the foremen, and it is unfair that discussion should take place in their absence. In such cases they should be invited to attend the committee meeting. The position calls for great tact and consideration on all sides, and it is better to face it openly and discuss it in all its bearings than to attempt to ignore it.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEETINGS

The questions of time and place of meeting are important, and also that of the payment of members when their meetings take place in works hours. With regard to place, this should be provided by the firm. There is no doubt but that, in the early days at least, the respect accorded to the works committee will be considerably enhanced if the firm shows its own appreciation of its position by setting aside a properly furnished room for its meetings. The time of meeting is not so easy to decide. The existing practice varies considerably. When business in which the management is concerned is being transacted it seems beyond question that it should be done in "works time." When, however, a large part of the time is devoted to the workers' own affairs it is often felt, and not least by the workers themselves, that the meetings should take place after works hours. Sometimes it is arranged that meetings shall start an hour before closing time, and members are paid until then, but do not draw overtime pay. Sometimes, by the workers' own request, meetings of the workers' committee are held entirely out of works hours; in some cases the firm then provides tea. In the event of meetings being held entirely out of works hours, so that production may not be hindered, a fixed payment is sometimes made to members for their attendance. These practical details

must be discussed and definitely decided upon at the start. They are questions which will immediately arise, in the workers' minds if not in the employers', as soon as the idea of a committee is broached.

POWERS OF THE WORKS COMMITTEE

The objects of the Works Committee in detail can be left to the good sense of the committee, but it is clear that some statement must be made at the outset as to whether its powers are to be executive or only advisory. If the latter, it should be sufficient to say the object is "to provide a medium through which the Directors can lay their problems before the workers in their employ, and the workers in their turn can bring forward for discussion their problems." In the highly organized trades the objects set out by the Whitley Committee in its report provide a complete list of the activities for Works Committees, but for the less organized trades a general statement such as that quoted above would provide for the discussion of all the questions naturally arising, affecting any particular business. If the committee is to be entrusted with executive powers a very clear and explicit statement must be drawn up as to what these are.

A number of Works Committees have been given authority to investigate, by a variety of machinery, cases of unfair dismissal. This seems little short of revolution to the management accustomed to the autocratic powers of the old-fashioned foreman, but in practice it has been found to have excellent results. There are also cases of Works Committees which, on a considered resolution passed by a two-thirds majority, have power to alter rules and regulations, and even this innovation has so far had none of the disastrous effects on discipline foretold by some prophets. Obviously, however, much must depend on the ability of the committee, and, in the case of a new and untried committee with no tradition and no experience, no one would suggest entrusting it with such powers at its inception.

One most useful and effective way of encouraging constructive work on the part of the committee is to entrust to it the administration of a certain income. Most firms normally subscribe to various athletic clubs, provident funds, etc., among their employees, and many make large grants annually for such purposes. The same sum may be handed over in bulk to the committee to administer and divide among the various interests. Some Works Committees handle large sums in this way, and are responsible for organizing far-reaching Works Education Schemes under which scholarship grants are made to enable workers to take a whole time course of study at suitable colleges.

RELATIONS WITH TRADE UNIONS

It is well to make clear from the start what are to be the relations between the Works Committee and the Trade Unions concerned in the particular industry. Where the workers are highly organized, frank discussion should take place in the first instance with the trade union officials ; it may even be best to leave the arrangements for election to the Shop Stewards. In the majority of cases there are, however, either too many unions concerned or too many entirely unorganized workers to make this just or practicable. Some special trade union representation may be arranged, or it may be sufficient to announce definitely that questions of minimum rates and conditions, which are normally the concern of the Trade Unions, are to be beyond the scope of the Works Committee.

REPRESENTATION AND ELECTION

Whatever plan is adopted in the make-up of the committee, a representative of every grade of worker must be included. Although this results in certain instances in a very large committee, it is a sound principle, and we can trust to the common sense of the committee, when its unwieldiness is revealed at its earliest meetings, to elect smaller sub-committees to deal with its various activities.

A certain amount of grouping of grades can be done, but great care and discretion are needed. Obviously a stevedore would not be satisfied if he were represented by a dock policeman, nor a girl packer by a man in the cleaning department.

The representation of men and women workers should be distinct. It may even be advisable to arrange for separate committees, each of which shall be represented on a Joint Works Committee, for example where the men and women work separately so that superficially at least, their interests are different, or, where they are of very different social standing and education. There should always, however, be provision for joint meetings, so that the essential community of interest is emphasized.

The committee must be democratically elected, and this is best done by a properly controlled secret ballot. The days of the appointed members are over, and no attempt should be made to return to this type of committee. The committee should retire annually, and there should be a fresh election. This provides for the removal of unsuitable representatives, and keeps alive the interest of the workpeople in the committee.

It is often arranged that the Chairman of the Joint Committee shall be a member of the management one year, and of the workers the next. The Chairman of the Workers' Committee will, of course, be a worker. Its secretary is often the Welfare Worker, but this should only be at the express wish of the committee, and the election should take place each year and not be assumed.

PREPARING THE GROUND

Many employers fight shy of taking the initial step towards establishing a committee because they are not quite sure of a satisfactory method. If, however, it is remembered that the first business of a Works Committee is the drawing-up of its own constitution and rules, it will be seen that the initial step need not prove cumbersome.

The real difficulty is the preparatory and educative work which must be undertaken among the entire management before any active attempt is made to set up a Works Committee. On this preparation depends the success of the whole scheme. Indeed, it would be hardly too much to say that a Works Committee which is initiated in a works where the management are not genuinely interested in the experiment will be a constant source of friction. It is not sufficient for the employer merely to announce his desire that a committee should be formed, and that the management should co-operate in the scheme. Obedience in letter only and not in spirit, is fatal to any hope of success. The whole matter must be thoroughly discussed with all grades of the management, and when their support has been secured and the trade union matters discussed above have been settled, it is a comparatively simple matter to draw up a few simple rules as to election and meeting. The works manager, office manager, and welfare worker can then address the workers in their respective rooms, telling them of the wish of the Directors, explaining in detail the method of electing the first committee, which will then be responsible for perfecting its own constitution and rules, as well as other matters. In the event of the workers being unusually illiterate or where the majority are young persons, some further measures will, of course, be necessary, but normally the committee can be trusted to work out its own salvation.

SOME PITFALLS TO AVOID

One or two pitfalls may, perhaps, be usefully pointed out. In the first flush of interest and excitement, the committee will probably be fairly active: many new schemes will be mooted, and many grievances aired. It is possible that some of the schemes suggested will be very ambitious, and indeed, even quite impossible. It is well to remember that any attempt to closure the discussion of these subjects, unless they are clearly outside the defined

scope of the committee, will have a disastrous effect. It will usually be found that after much time and talk the difficulties in the way become so apparent that the members unanimously agree that the suggestion cannot be carried out. It may appear at first sight that this method is pure waste of time, but the first object of the committee is that the members should get to understand and know each other, and such free discussions are invaluable for this purpose.

It is important, too, that in the early days the management should not press the committee unduly to undertake responsibility. It must earn the loyal support of the workers gradually, and is far more likely to do this if at first its activities are those suggested by the workers themselves, and these it must be confessed do not always appear so important to the management as to the workers. In the very early days there may be a number of quite petty grievances aired, grievances which if they had been mentioned to the proper authorities, could long ago have been remedied. It may be—it is—very irritating to have these comparatively trivial matters discussed at a committee from which we hoped really constructive work would come, but it must be remembered that it is not the importance of the grievance but the very fact of its having existed for so long without coming to the notice of the management that is at once its danger, and the proof of the need for a committee. If handled carefully and patiently, such complaints will soon cease to be made, as complaints, and will begin to appear as suggestions, and the constructive work of the committee will have begun.

Another difficult period may arise after a year or two's working, when the various activities of the committee are becoming automatic, and there seems a sudden lack of important and interesting things to do. The danger of this is reduced in proportion as the employer regards the committee as an integral part of the structure of the business, and gives it opportunity to function as such; if it.

has been entrusted with any executive power it will not often be at a loss for work.

ATTITUDE OF THE MANAGEMENT

All this, however, presupposes that the management are prepared to discuss with the workers freely and openly and in a very generous spirit, many things which have hitherto been regarded as more or less sacrosanct. There must be real and complete freedom in the exchange of ideas, and the management must be ready to consider with an open mind suggestions not only for improvement of conditions, but also for the better organization and working of the business. They should be prepared to go through with any scheme which after discussion seems reasonable and right, giving it a fair trial.

A Works Committee will often make crude and rather biting criticisms of the organization within the business which are particularly irritating to the management. Yet it is well to remember that the criticism is there even if no Works Committee exists to voice it openly. Part of it is very probably based on a misconception of the problem due to lack of knowledge of all the factors involved. It is difficult to measure the loss of general efficiency which results when a number of people are working under a system which they honestly believe to be inefficient, cumbersome, and unnecessary, but it undoubtedly must be considerable. Once the criticism is openly made there is a chance to clear up this misunderstanding, and to the extent that this is done the critical, rather discontented employee becomes an intelligent co-operator in the scheme of work. Part of the criticism is often sound, though frequently badly expressed, and it should be fairly and openly faced. For much may be gained from it in the way of co-ordination between the various sections of the business. Part of it is due to ignorance of all the circumstances of the case, and time will be well spent in explaining clearly the inter-relation of apparently unconnected facts.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

No one who knows much of large industrial concerns to-day will deny that one of the big dangers of modern business organization is the tendency to specialization, which, while it brings efficiency in one direction, often results in a lack of co-ordination between departments which is depressingly apparent in many ways. Elaborate precautions are taken to overcome this tendency with very varying degrees of success, and many observers are driven to the conclusion that the whole remedy cannot be found in the ordinary methods of organization. Organization and still more organization has been applied to many large business concerns without avoiding many absurd instances of overlapping and many breakdowns in machinery which would never occur in a smaller place. Organization and system are undoubtedly part of the cure for this disease of modern industry, but we are coming to realize that in the past the organizers have been tempted to omit an important part of their function—the complete diagnosis of the conditions. They have overlooked the human element—to use the catch-phrase. In other and perhaps truer words they have despised their fellow men and, consciously or unconsciously, have aimed at securing automata performing their functions mechanically under an elaborate system which it is not their business to question, rather than intelligent co-operators who shall both understand and appreciate the system which is after all a means (not an end in itself), and a means to be improved whenever and wherever possible.

As Mr. Charles Renold says in his book on Workshop Committees—"There must be no forbidden topics or reservations if the worker is to be convinced of the *bona fides* of the employer. . . . Quick results are not probable, for it must be recognized that it will require some time before the workers generally can be convinced that the management does put all its cards on the table in such discussions. A record of straightforwardness must,

however, tell in the long run, just as the smallest instance of breach of faith or 'slimness' would spoil all chances of success. It is important to remember in all such discussions that the management probably possess the more highly trained minds and acuter debating powers: it is easy to score points, but this does no one any good, and only leaves resentment amongst those scored off, and probably immediately raises suspicions of insincerity." It must be remembered that the chief if not the only object in setting up the committee is to secure co-operation, and that is only possible in proportion as people understand each other. To understand one another, especially when, as now, we are living in a cloud of misunderstanding and suspicion inherited from the past, takes time, patience, and a very real charity.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

PART I—FORMAL AND DIRECT

EDUCATION as such, formal and direct, has long had a place in the scheme of things among far-sighted and progressive employers. It is, in fact, to the experimental work carried on inside factories that much of the stimulus applied to continuation school work and to adult education generally, owes its strength. Employers in industry have done pioneer work in continued education. The skill of systematically trained workers is recognized as superior to that of apprentices whose training is haphazard and based upon instruction on the job in hand and the intelligence of the journeyman. Hence the development of technical classes and schools in connection with individual factories, the financial burden being borne by the employers, who realize the importance of the investment. The state education authorities have viewed with ever-increasing interest these experiments and, acknowledging the all-round practical advantages of education in industry, are gradually developing the national policy to meet the requirements of industrial progress and economic welfare.

CO-OPERATION WITH LOCAL EDUCATION COMMITTEES

To-day close co-operation exists between employers and local educational authorities. The Education Act of 1918 seeks to consolidate all this valuable experimental work; and at the same time to safeguard the interests of individual members of the national body against possible disadvantageous tendencies. The first duty of the state is to give equal opportunity all round and, as far as possible, to bring

within the reach of all the industrial community privileges hitherto enjoyed by a favoured minority. Again, the impartial eye of the state may prevent over-specialization and concentration on certain aspects of education, and may check the development of a private educational policy detrimental to the general well-being of the employees and to their preparation for the eventualities of life.

SCHOLARSHIPS, EVENING CLASSES

In practice, what is being done inside factories for the education of workers? Advanced employers support and take advantage of all kinds of facilities provided by educational bodies outside the factory. One branch of educational activity, which is at present very much restricted, but which will undoubtedly expand in the future is the award of scholarships and bursaries to promising young workers who are likely to benefit from a course of study at some technical school, working men's or women's college, or at one of the universities. Practical results to-day point to the success of these schemes, for these young men and women are found in positions of trust and responsibility all over the country. But the most far-reaching external influence operating at present is the evening continuation school, the classes of which are often largely recruited from the staff and general body of employees in local industrial and commercial groups, the fees being frequently paid in whole or part by the employers on condition of regular attendance and intelligent interest.

A friendly understanding and a spirit of close co-operation may be established between local employers and the Education Authority, and may find expression in various forms. For example, provided that there be a sufficient number of enrolments, the authority will run an evening continuation school for the employees of one firm, with a curriculum based on the demands of the students, so far as they comply with the requirements of the Education Department.

WORKS SCHOOLS AND DAYTIME CLASSES

Another interesting outcome of the co-operation is found in some areas where the Local Education Authority conducts technical classes in the daytime, which are attended by apprentices without loss of wages. The fees are in some cases paid by the firms or none may be charged to those students who are *bona fide* apprentices employed in the area. Advisory Committees representative of employers, trade unions, and the Education Authority, are generally set up to watch the development of such classes, with excellent results, not only directly on the classes but indirectly on the working conditions in the trade. Or again, the local authority will approve a scheme for a works school, always on the undertaking that neither in letter nor in spirit will there be infringement of the Education Act ; this approval may take the form of appointment of teachers, a grant for working expenses, inspection, and so on. In this way many works schools have been set up in a number of different trades, and under very varying conditions. Some of these are already famous, while others, though doing very good work, are but little known outside their own areas. Attendance at these works schools for 6 or 8 hours weekly is made a condition of employment for all young persons, generally up to 17 or 18 years of age. The classes take place during working hours, and no deduction from wages is made in the case of time workers. The curriculum varies in the amount of vocational bias, but there is usually little or no purely technical instruction in the first two years. Gymnastics and often swimming are taught to all students, and domestic economy very frequently to the girls. The real value of these schools, both economically and socially, is undoubtedly, though it is not easy to assess either exactly. In the absence of any national scheme of continued education, these private ventures have been of exceptional interest, and the experiments have now been sufficiently varied and lengthy to ensure that any firm

undertaking such work for its own employees will reap a rich reward.

Originally factory educational policy centred round strictly technical instruction, but the necessity of a liberal education as the first essential of successful specialization is becoming more and more apparent, and these purely technical studies are gradually giving place, especially in the case of young people, to more general educational subjects. At the same time it must be admitted that there are still many students who will prepare for examinations in all subjects which make possible financial and social promotion, who do not see the need of a general liberal education for its own sake ; and on that point the work of enlightened employers in their factories can be of inestimable value, for by practical experience, the truth of the principle may be established.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION AND OTHER CLASSES

The above remarks, with the exception of those relating to purely technical classes, apply for the most part to the adolescent workers. But among the adult employees a considerable amount of educational work is being done in some factories. This is often carried on in connection with the Adult School Movement, or the Workers' Educational Association. Classes may be formed especially for the workers in some one factory, or employees may be encouraged to join "open" classes run in connection with their union, lodge, or place of worship. Unless there is some special reason, such as difficulty with regard to hours, it is probably better from every point of view to avoid the rather restricted interest resulting from confining membership to employees of one firm. "Encouragement" may take the form of material help, such as the free use of a room, the offer of prizes, etc., or may be confined to posting of notices regarding the formation of such classes in the neighbourhood, but no such devices are of much real use

unless there is on the part of all grades of the management a genuine interest in education and sympathy with striving after intellectual development, however embryonic this may be.

An employer who is genuinely anxious to promote adult education in the wide sense of the term will find many opportunities if he is quick to sense the trend of public interest. Common and very popular activities are the works choir and works orchestra, both of which, under capable direction, may be of real educational value. In these cases the restriction of membership to employees may be justifiable, as the added interest of inter-works competitions at local musical festivals is a great incentive to a high standard of work. Gardening is another occupation encouraged by many employers either directly or through Local Allotment Associations. In some cases it is possible to provide allotments on ground belonging to the firm ; instruction may be provided either by regular classes held on a model allotment or by occasional lectures on special subjects. Periodical exhibitions of produce are held and prizes offered for the best kept garden, etc. Even a very modest bulb competition will be found quite worth the small amount of trouble involved. Among the women workers, classes in first aid and home nursing generally prove attractive, whether held by the works medical department or at outside centres, and here again a high standard of work can be encouraged by inter-departmental and inter-works competitions. Many other subjects might be mentioned in which enthusiastic and flourishing classes will be found in different factories, the particular subject chosen in each being the result of local conditions.

THE ELEMENT OF COMPELSION

Generally speaking, it may be said that the educational classes for adolescents tend to be held more and more in working hours, and therefore to be of a compulsory character, the courses of study being carefully planned.

in advance. In the case of the adults, attendance being voluntary, the subjects are much more varied in character, and range from the technical trade class to the study of philosophy. An interesting development in some firms is the experiment of organizing regular courses of study for those who would qualify themselves for the position of overlookers and forepeople. This is a development in the right direction, for, as has already been pointed out, the position of a foreman is one of the most difficult in modern industry.

PART II—INFORMAL AND INDIRECT

The educational work carried on in connection with industrial life is, as has been shown above, an important part of the educational system of this country, and is, moreover, capable of considerable extension in years to come. But the path of formal education in industry is, it will be readily acknowledged, beset with many practical difficulties. There are innumerable cases where "it is impossible to promote classes, lectures, and other educational schemes. Over against this we have the compensating fact that in almost all circumstances there exist a number of opportunities for educational work on less well recognized lines; work, moreover, which is not only exceedingly valuable in itself, but which will prepare the way for, and greatly increase the results obtained by, the more orthodox educational schemes when these become possible.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER

One of the worst evils of our present system, in this age of specialized labour, is a tendency to ignore the individuality of each employee. Yet every Welfare Worker would probably contend that each unit in the industrial world can and should be made to count as an individual, not merely as a part in a great machine. And this is a fact which is becoming increasingly apparent to a large section of the community who have at heart not only the commercial

purpose of industry but its social significance also. The history of our progress in this direction does indeed provide a very real ground for hope. We have seen with the passing of the years a gradual change of principle ; the maxim that Might was Right long ago gave place to a theory that cunning was superior to mere physical domination. Following that has come a period which has seen the amazing discovery of the fact that Christian principles " pay," and this motive—inadequate as it may be in many respects—is surely some sort of a foundation on which to build. And how, are we going to build ? Surely through the development of the individual, whose potential capacities must be used in order that a complete and harmonious whole may result. It is the development of the individual then, that is the crux of the matter, and such development is admittedly impossible without some system of education. But no educational scheme will fulfil its purpose unless it comprises, in addition to formal means, other methods which are no less important in the formation of character. Among these may be mentioned such organizations as works committees, games clubs, and so forth, the formation of which will of necessity be accompanied by a call to service. It is only by the sacrifice involved in mutual service and co-operation that the hard lessons of corporate life will be learnt. And here there exist limitless opportunities of which the Welfare Worker, in his unique position in the industrial world, is especially fitted to make use.

INDIRECT EFFECT OF WORKS COMMITTEES

Picture a girl or young woman whose job it is to feed a machine in a factory. She is probably interested solely in those workers with whom she comes in direct contact. Of the general life of the place she knows little : it touches her only in so far as it is the means of providing her daily bread. Through some combination of circumstances it is agreed to form a Works Committee. Let us suppose that the girl in question is nominated to represent her particular

section. Possibly she may at first resent the responsibility involved, and the fact that some of her precious leisure time will be broken into, but if, in spite of these obstacles, she agrees to stand, she has indeed put her foot on the first rung of the ladder.

At the actual meetings she will learn the technicalities of committee work and—what is far more important—loyalty both to the people whom she is representing and to the committee as a body. She will have to bring forward opinions—complaints even—which are not her own, and may, perhaps, be called upon to enforce regulations which were carried in the face of a minority of which she was one. By contact with her fellow committee members she will have the opportunity of learning something of the troubles and difficulties in other sections of the works—sections whose very existence was almost unknown to her. The fact will be forcibly brought home that she is a vital part of a large whole : she will have in truth her first experience of team-work as applied in industry. The effect of committee experience on a girl worker has been taken as an illustration since, owing to their more restricted life and the fewer opportunities they enjoy, as compared with boys of the same age, the sudden enlargement of their outlook is often very marked. But a similar result may be confidently expected in greater or less degree among all committee members.

THE BOND OF MUTUAL SERVICE

The structure of Works Committees and the way in which they are correlated with the management will necessarily vary in different circumstances ; these technicalities have been dealt with in a separate section. If the management is directly represented on a committee where matters relating to the works as a whole are frankly discussed, and where grievances are ventilated, inevitably there will result a broader point of view on either side. The committee room will very soon prove to be a training ground

not for the worker only but for the management as well. Both sides will learn to view from other angles than their own the problems with which they are confronted. The aim will be so to solve them that the whole body may benefit. Managers and workers will meet in a new relation to each other—a relation which springs from mutual service. Working for the whole body they will nevertheless realize one another as individuals. In the same way each member on returning to his section will grow to know and be interested in those who were formerly outside his immediate circle. He will have opportunity to influence public opinion—but this will be by no means a one-sided process. Equally important is the fact that the rank and file will be led to contribute their opinions, and by open discussion to develop their powers of reason and judgment.

POSSIBILITIES OF A GAMES CLUB

Out of the Works Committee will spring other sub-committees formed to organize the social life of the place. These sub-committees have a special importance of their own, due partly to the fact that, being smaller than the full committee, greater responsibility will necessarily fall on individual members. The lessons learnt, sometimes consciously, more often unknowingly, while running a games club for instance, can have tremendous results, so much so that difficulties which before appeared insurmountable may be overcome by the application of the *esprit de corps* learnt on the games field.

To go into this more fully. A club to be successful must be open to all, whatever their position in the works. Here we get a chance to break down the class distinction and snobbery so rampant in industrial life, so destructive to understanding. With this breakdown comes at once a widening of sympathy; an increase of fellowship brings a chance to realize the capacities of those who, because their occupations have been different, have hitherto been,

little understood. Here we get scope for some who up till now have had no chance to express themselves. Here we get the fact, blatantly obvious, that everyone has something to contribute to the good of the whole, and that, unless this contribution is made, the whole will suffer. The club will have a personality of its own, made up of the individual characters of its members—a corporate personality in fact, expressing much, and the organizers will have a large say in the development of this corporate personality.

By their own efforts will they be making, creating, calling into being this live thing. In order to make this corporate personality a larger thing than their individual personalities they will bring to bear their own gradually developing power of drawing out in others that which can be used for the good of the whole. Often they will be called upon to suppress and even sacrifice their own desire to excel. The difference between a club run for a small clique of good players and one in which an effort is made to imbue every member with the club spirit, will be learnt slowly, and probably only by failure—but it will be all the more educative on that account.

Apart from the development of the invaluable team-spirit—the foundation of all true co-operation—games clubs tend to restore our faith in human nature. If we know how to play the game ourselves we assume that other people do so too, and we reason from this that it is possible to “play the game” over other things. To have faith in a man on the games fields helps us to have faith in him when it comes to a question of business.

Besides the development of qualities such as loyalty, self-sacrifice, service, an important feature will be the more technical education involved in the running of the finances of the club. There will also arise continual problems to be solved in connection with the upkeep of the ground, etc. Such experiences as these are undoubtedly of no little educational value.

OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Dramatic, musical and debating societies, rambling clubs, may likewise be an outcome of the committee's work. Such organizations will obviously provide tremendous educational possibilities, not only on the technical side but also—as in a games club—from the point of view of the development of individual and corporate personality, and endless examples might be given of the constructive work of such associations.

THE WORKS LIBRARY

The formation of a staff library is an achievement which may have very far-reaching results. In the ordinary course of affairs books do not come the way of the average worker who leaves school at fourteen. He has, indeed, learnt to read, but he has often had no opportunity of forming a taste for reading. Neither does he generally realize the possibilities which this power to read might bring into his life.

It is possible to start a works library in a very small way. One end of the canteen will serve, or, better still, a recreation room, and at once you get a common meeting ground for all sections. Here, for instance, the cleaning staff rub shoulders with the "brass hats," whose offices they clean. The Welfare Worker will be at hand to change books during the dinner hour, or at some other convenient time. At the start it is generally possible to get together a small nucleus of books. An entrance fee of 6d. or 9d., and a weekly subscription of 1d. will soon produce sufficient funds to increase this number very substantially. There is little doubt that the library will fill a real need, and that the membership will grow rapidly.¹ It is well to provide

¹ There will, of course, be continual need for repairs, which will have to be economically carried out, so that mending must needs be done in the Welfare Department, but after a little practice it will be found that rebinding books is a comparatively simple matter, provided that it is undertaken in time. In addition to the repairs, there will be the work of labelling and indexing.

a catalogue which the members may consult, and they must have free access to the shelves. As an example of the educational value of such an institution we quote an instance of a works library, which in five years has grown from 100 to over 3,000 books. These are kept on open shelves in a room used freely by all the workers at all hours. Though there is no supervision except when books are changed during the dinner hour, there is no loss, the books being protected by the community as "ours."

In the library, perhaps, more than anywhere else, individual taste and personality will come to the fore, and here the Welfare Worker has an opportunity, by suggestions and advice, to see that these have ample scope. Trouble taken to provide a special book for some member will not only be much appreciated at the time, but may form an invaluable link for some future date.

CATER FOR EVERY TASTE

For the scheme to be far-reaching in its effects it is useless to stock the shelves with educational books only. Popular and even trashy novels attract readers who may eventually be led to take out a better type of book without quite realizing what has happened! Ban Ethel M. Dell and you may shut out a reader who might later have developed a real taste for literature. Of course, the majority will read novels; that is only natural. But there are surely few who would argue that there is nothing to be gained from novel reading. A child who has left school at 14 will be enthralled by the romance of such a book as *The Hill*. He will realize, perhaps for the first time, that school life may mean something beyond the mere acquisition of facts. A lover of nature will find in the works of Gene Stratton Porter an introduction to the beauties of other lands. A student of present-day problems, whose information is gleaned entirely from the daily press, will have a new vista opened to him by the historical novel. The book reviews in the papers will arouse a newly awakened

interest, and it will probably be found that after a time there will be a steady demand, not only for the books of the front-rank novelists, but for other types of literature as well. Works on history, psychology, social science, zoology, and so forth, will gradually find a place among the novels—and this is surely a step forward. When it is realized that books taken out of a works library find their way into hundreds of homes, into which no literature but the picture papers may hitherto have been introduced, it will be seen that a tremendous educational opportunity is created.

CO-OPERATION WITH THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

A critic may protest that the work of such a library is outside the scope of Industrial Welfare Work, and that it would be sounder policy to encourage a more general use of the Public Libraries. In reply we would point out that the works library may be assisted by loans of books from the public library authorities, and that in some cases great co-operation exists between the two; books not possessed by the works library may be borrowed for special readers from the public library or from the Central Library for Students, and the reader thus helped to get into touch with other agencies. The great value of a works library lies in its being on the spot. Workers who travel long distances to and from their work will often find neither time nor energy to visit other libraries unless they have already developed a habit of reading.

THE WORKS MAGAZINE

A Works Magazine, if it is really a works magazine, and not an advertisement masquerading as such, is another of these indirect methods of education. Although the actual editing may, and often does, take place in the Welfare Department, much of the work involved may be undertaken by a specially formed sub-committee which should, if possible, be drawn from different sections of the works.

It will probably be difficult at first to obtain suitable contributions: the willing contributors are not always possessed of the most literary ability, while those who have a gift for writing are sometimes disinclined to use it. In a firm where there are a great many activities, the difficulty will be felt less, as a large part of the magazine will necessarily be taken up with reports and news from the various athletic and other clubs. The main function of a publication of this kind is to co-ordinate the various sections—to spread the news in such a way that each department is kept informed of what is going on elsewhere. The magazine should be the connecting link between the various parts of a large factory: the interests which form the life of one section through it can be shared by another.

Many believe that it is impossible to run a Works Magazine unless it is subsidized by the management. This is, however, open to question and, given a sufficiently large and interested population, there would seem to be no reason why, in time, it should not be made to pay its way, so long as nothing too elaborate is attempted. If the magazine is used on occasion by the Management as an official means of communication with the staff, or as the official record of works committee business, a subsidy may be quite justifiable. A magazine which is really successful in becoming an expression of the spirit of the works is of great value as an indication of the existing "tone," and it undoubtedly is a potent factor in building up "esprit de corps."

THE WORKER'S LEISURE

It has been shown that the activities which supply informal and indirect means of education are largely those which are pursued during the leisure hours of the worker. The monotony of much of the present day work makes it imperative that the increasing amount of leisure at the worker's disposal shall, of his own choice, be spent in such a way that the very best in him shall be developed. The

greater the amount of education in his possession the more wisely will he employ his leisure.

The present day has seen a tremendous development of opportunities, especially for young people, to make good use of their leisure time. There are many local organizations which exist to supply a special need in the life of the youthful worker, and the social activities of the factory should provide a training ground for young people who go back in the evening to take an active part in the life of their local club. Clubs and kindred associations at the works never supply the place of outside organizations, even though they may meet a very real need. There is ample scope for both, and the greater opportunities lie sometimes with the inside, sometimes with the outside organization. The important point is that they shall work side by side, and not in opposition to one another. The holiday camp, for example, organized by an outside agency, may include a small group of people from one factory (and possibly amongst them a member of the Welfare Staff). By this means the intimacy of the few will be merged in the wider freemasonry of the larger community, so that the educative lessons of the camp life will have been learned through the combined work of the inside and the outside organization.

CHARACTER BUILDING FOR THE COMMUNITY

We have attempted in this chapter to show that there do exist in industrial life great educational opportunities, even though these may not always be on what might be called orthodox lines. We argued that it is possible by means of such organizations as works committees, libraries, games, and other clubs, to develop the individual so that he will derive benefit not only for himself but also for the community as a whole. We tried to show that a sense of responsibility will be fostered in the girl who consents to stand as a committee member, that her outlook will thereby be broadened, her sense of fellowship awakened.

We pointed out that the man who used his leisure time to organize a games club is doing an important piece of educational work. It must not be thought that such illustrations as these are by any means exhaustive. They do no more than indicate some of the lines which these indirect methods of education might follow. Only at intervals, however, will their results be apparent to the casual observer. There may be little indication of what is going on, unless the works magazine is able to a certain extent to voice the gradually changing tone.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WELFARE WORKER

IT now remains to consider the qualifications desirable in the candidate who would undertake the work which has been described in the foregoing sections. As generally happens in the early years of a profession, its scope varies considerably, and nothing approaching a standard has yet been reached. The result of this has been that attention has been largely concentrated on the value of personal character as a requisite, to the exclusion of almost everything else. A strong character—and by that is not meant a dominating character—is indeed the fundamental basis in the make-up of a "good" Welfare Worker, but so it is of any "good" citizen, and pre-eminently so in any occupation where much contact with other people is involved. This emphasis on character alone was the chief cause of some of the extraordinary appointments made in the past. We have known, especially in the dark days of the war, representatives of almost every occupation suddenly transformed into Welfare Workers. Amongst them were teachers, organists, travellers, artists, doctors, clergymen, overlookers, cooks, ex-constables, and chicken-farmers, and one who was described as "the most aggressive Christian ever met." Many of them were wonderfully successful, and did pioneer work for industry, but we maintain that their success was due to the fact that, in addition to their high character, they already possessed or speedily set about acquiring such experience and information as would enable them to appreciate the relation between the life of industry and the life of the community, not to mention the hundred and one practical details of factory organization which must come under the jurisdiction of an efficient Welfare Department.

QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING

To begin with then, the candidate for welfare work should possess this quality of "character"; should have a keen sense of justice, a sound judgment, a sense of proportion (which involves a sense of humour), patience, good temper, and good physical health. With these, and a good general education, he or she should undertake a specialized course of training at one of the Social Training Centres connected with the Universities. These courses are arranged to extend over at least two years, and include practical "field" work as well as theory. Particulars of these courses may be obtained from the University Registrars or from the Secretary of the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers (*see Appendix*). Students are not usually admitted to these courses under 20 years of age, and this is a wise provision, as experience of life is a necessary part of the foundations when building one's philosophy of life. Experience gained in the open labour market, in settlement life, in a trade union office, in an elementary school—all would be a most valuable asset. The nursing profession will also provide its quota, but the institutional training does not always give a wide enough outlook to its students. Actual experience in nursing or domestic economy are not always necessary, though certainly a knowledge of such affairs will help the Welfare Worker in solving many of the practical problems which arise. Different problems are presented in different factories, according to trade, locality, size, and conditions, and the appointment should be made accordingly. In the small factory the Welfare Worker will either have to perform many functions such as first-aid work, canteen organization, etc., in addition to ordinary welfare supervision; or, if specialists are appointed for these, must be prepared to act in some clerical or non-welfare capacity for part of the day. Where the buildings are old and rambling, or the trade a dangerous one, the problems of ventilation, sanitation, etc., would suggest the need of special experience of public health work.

Where the opportunities for educational work predominate, previous experience as a teacher would be an advantage.

MENTAL ATTITUDE TO WELFARE WORK

Finally, one word as to the attitude of mind desirable in the Welfare Worker with regard to his work. Any idea of philanthropy is to be deprecated. Welfare work has a definite function to perform in industry ; it is a policy adopted by a firm advisedly, with the ~~aim~~ of making possible the full and conscious co-operation of every individual engaged in the production of some social necessity. The Welfare Worker is merely the executive officer appointed to carry on a normal routine part of the business organization. The broad outlook, the philosophy of industry as a social service, is not the special prerogative of the Welfare Worker, but a common ideal to be cherished by every member of the industrial unit concerned. Only so far as this is true is the welfare work, which aims at making it so, a success. Consequently, a fatal mistake is made if the Welfare Department is not regarded as an integral part of the ordinary works régime, and its activities as concerned with the normal rather than the abnormal interests of the community.

MEASURING ACHIEVEMENT

At the same time any attempt to open a profit and loss account is equally dangerous. It is true that, as we have said before, welfare work, honestly and disinterestedly carried on, does " pay," but when we come to translate its values into terms of hard cash we are merely confusing the issue. A firm which adopts welfare ideas as part of its considered policy thereby confesses that there are factors in industrial life " without money and without price." It is only on this plane that true welfare work can be judged, and any departure from it is not only bad philosophy but bad mathematics. For how can you measure your result ? The cost of your Welfare Department

can be reckoned and allowed for in each year's estimates, but its results are immeasurable and cumulative.

The firm which has adopted welfare principles is none the less keen on success in business, but it does believe that no department of life can be separated from another, that ultimately success in business is involved in success in life.

APPENDIX

I. CANTEENS

SMALL canteens serving up to 100 or 150 meals are at one great advantage over larger ones, in that they can be run on more informal lines. It is a good plan to engage as cook a capable woman who has had experience, preferably in her own family, of working-class conditions in the particular locality. She will understand her customers' tastes as no stranger will. Strict economy must, of course, be the rule, and it is well, even in the smallest concerns, to institute an accurate record of all stores received and given out, so that any leakage can at once be detected. The numbers of cups of tea from the pound, the number of helpings from each dish must be known and adhered to, or prices can never be fixed in a satisfactory manner.

A separate counter for sweets, cakes, fruit, etc., will be found to save time in service, and to be a source of considerable profit, which can be used to reduce the price of the meat dishes.

Variety in the menu should be aimed at, and accurate records kept of the menu and numbers served on each day, so that the popularity of each item can be gauged. It will often be found, too, that a record of the weather throws much light on the variation in custom. When introducing new dishes always have samples on view, on the counter, plainly marked with name and price. It will generally be found that new dishes "take" very slowly, and must be on the menu five or six times before their success, or failure, is assured. Incidentally, it is wise to choose simple, easily pronounceable names for new dishes.

Warming up dinners brought from home, specially on Monday, is an important part of the canteen work, as a

rule, and far from an easy one. It is a good plan to issue a few simple directions to the workers. That, for example, dinners must be brought in covered basins, plainly labelled with the owner's name, and that the basin should contain a reasonable amount of gravy to prevent the dinner getting dried up. The basins are left in the canteen early in the day, and should be taken from the heater and placed ready on a special section of the counter to be claimed at dinner time.

The cooking of chops, bacon, etc., brought in by the workers, is a much more difficult thing to arrange, and it is doubtful whether it need be attempted where cheap and nourishing meals are provided. Eggs are often brought to be boiled, and are more easily dealt with. All the eggs can be boiled early in the day—allowed to grow cold, and then placed in boiling water at dinner time to await their owners' pleasure.

Tea is always rather a problem. If the workers have been accustomed to making their own it is often advisable to supply boiling water and allow those who wish to continue doing so. If the canteen tea is cheap and good it will gradually become popular, and the private tea-pots disappear in course of time. Tea made in large pots will always be more appreciated than tea out of an urn.

GENERAL FITTINGS

In fitting up the canteen, it is usually important to get as much seating accommodation as possible. It must, however, be remembered that the number of seats shown theoretically on an architect's plan is almost invariably considerably higher than the number ever used in practice. Theoretically, you can seat more people in a given space by having long tables, but in practice the middle seats of a long table tend to be left unoccupied. Small tables for four are always popular, but are extravagant of space. A good compromise is tables seating four on each side and one at each end. These must, however, be placed sufficiently,

far apart for there to be a gangway between the chairs *when the customers are seated*—this means at least 5 ft. between the two tables. The tables should be strong and fairly light, so that they can easily be moved when the room is wanted for other purposes. Folding tables have many advantages, but are not so strong as those with fixed legs. If fixed legs are chosen, care must be taken to see that they are placed well in relation to the chairs, which will be pushed under the table—the best way, though admittedly not the most artistic, is to have them plumb at the four corners of the tables. The surface of the table is important—polished wood marks at once, bare deal is inhospitable in appearance, and requires much scrubbing to keep clean, tiles are heavy and expensive. Probably the best arrangement is to have the tables covered with ingrain linoleum, of a “tile” or “grained wood” pattern; the linoleum should be cemented on and finished at the edges with a wooden moulding. This will be found good wearing and easy to keep clean: it is attractive in appearance, and does not mark when hot dishes are placed upon it.

It is hardly necessary, nowadays, to say that all canteen seats should have backs. Chairs are best from all points of view, but if forms are decided on they should be made as restful as possible, the seat being slightly tilted backwards.

If possible, drinking water tap or taps should be accessible in the canteen itself, and an adequate supply of glasses and, if necessary, water jugs should be provided.

Cruets should be provided on each table for pepper, salt, and mustard.

Cutlery, etc. It is best to have stainless knives, and to have all knives, forks and spoons stamped with the firm's name. It facilitates service to have a good stock of all utensils at a convenient place near the counter. Customers then take what they require, and carry, with their dinner, to the seat selected by them. A pile of plates should similarly be available for the use of those who bring their own food.

II. LAVATORIES AND CLOAKROOMS

The legal requirements apply only to Sanitary Accommodation, with the exception of certain trades in which Home Office Orders have been issued requiring the provision of washing accommodation, and in some cases accommodation for clothing taken off during working hours, with adequate arrangements for drying it if wet.

CLOAKROOMS

The first consideration in planning cloakrooms is that they should be easily accessible to the worker coming to or going from work, and that adequate precautions should be taken against pilfering. The comparative merits of centralized or separate cloakrooms and lavatories must depend largely on the local conditions, and on the trade involved. Roughly speaking, it is true to say that the more centralized they are the easier it is to secure adequate supervision, but when dealing with lavatories the need for accessibility in working hours must not be forgotten. Cloakrooms and lavatories should not be combined in one room, but it is usually convenient to have them adjoining. If space will not allow of a centralized cloakroom near the entrance to the factory it may be possible to arrange smaller ones departmentally. In either case the cloakroom should, if in any way possible, have an exit and an entrance, so that congestion may be avoided at the busy times. It may seem unnecessary to emphasize the need for good lighting and proper ventilation in cloakrooms, but long experience proves that these points are only too often overlooked in planning such accommodation.

FITTINGS

The simplest kind of fittings are pegs fixed along the walls and, where space allows, on metal standards in rows down the length of the room. These pegs should be 18 in. apart, and should be numbered to prevent confusion, each worker having his own peg. It is convenient to

arrange for the peg number to correspond with the check number on the pay roll. Shelves are sometimes placed above the pegs to accommodate hats, bags, etc. It is often desirable and sometimes necessary for workers to change the shoes before and after work, and where this is the case a row of wooden pigeon holes fixed below the pegs at a low level will provide at once a receptacle for the shoes and a seat for the worker while changing.

Provision can most easily be made for wet umbrellas by fixing a bar along a vacant wall at a height of 2 ft. 6 in. from the floor, and 8 or 10 in. distant from the wall, with a metal trough below into which the umbrellas may drain. If there is adequate supervision of the cloakroom the umbrellas will be reasonably safe.

If it is possible to provide individual lockers for each person these will be much appreciated, but considerably more space will be required, and arrangements must be made for thoroughly cleaning them at regular intervals. Whether lockers or pegs are provided the ventilation and heating of the cloakroom must be considered with a view to drying wet clothing. Too much heat is not desirable, but good, through ventilation should be secured, and heating apparatus provided for use when necessary. Steam pipes may be run along the ground under the pegs (or lockers), but must be protected by wire netting to prevent the clothes coming into contact with the pipes. It is sometimes necessary to economize space by fixing a number of coat hangers on to a bar, which can be raised by pulleys to the ceiling ; this brings the clothing into warmer air and away from the possibility of pilfering. Some factories arrange a system by which the workers hand their clothes over a counter to an attendant who hangs them on numbered pegs, and hands them out again when required. This involves having an attendant constantly in charge, and a number of helpers with her at the general " stopping-time."

Whatever the details of the method adopted, it is advisable to keep the cloakroom locked except at the recognized

times for starting and leaving work, and under the general supervision of an attendant who may well have other duties, such as the cleaning and care of adjacent lavatories or the mending of linen, etc. This attendant will be present when the employees are entering or leaving work and, having charge of the keys, will know who has had access to the room at other times.

It is desirable, especially where women are employed, to have a large mirror fixed to the wall of either lavatory or cloakroom. The mirror should *not* be placed over the basins, and it is useful to place a shelf below it, on which hairpins, etc., may be (temporarily) put. It is not advisable for obvious reasons to supply hair-brushes or combs for general use. A suitable hair-tidy should, however, be fixed. This provision may be challenged as likely to lead to waste of time but, under proper conditions, it will be found, on the contrary, a real means of promoting self-respect and general tidiness among the workers.

SANITARY CONVENIENCES

While it is desirable to have a certain amount of sanitary and washing accommodation adjacent to the cloakrooms, where these are centralized near the entrance to the works it will often be necessary to have additional lavatories in other parts of the factory. By statutory order under the Factory and Workshop Act, Sanitary Conveniences must be supplied in the proportion of one to every twenty-five employees, with some exceptions where the male employees number more than a hundred. Minimum conditions of privacy and ventilation and accessibility are also laid down.

The position of each set of sanitary conveniences should be such that they are easy of access, separated from the workrooms by an intervening ventilated space, and so screened that the interior is not visible when the door is open. They should be built against an outside wall so that each convenience may have a window ventilating.

direct from the outside air and plenty of light, natural or artificial, should be provided.

NEED FOR SUPERVISION

Misuse of lavatories and time wasting can only be avoided by adequate supervision and scrupulous cleanliness. Walls and floors should be of smooth, impervious material, and the floors built slightly sloping with a drain to carry away the water. Each convenience should have an individual water flush, the bowl of white earthenware, and the seat or side cushions of hard wood. Disinfecting may be carried out daily by the attendant or automatic disinfectors fixed which release disinfectant with every flush of water. Tiled walls are best ; if these are considered too expensive, corrugated plaster painted and whitewashed will be found good, since it prevents scribbling. It should be remembered that no useful purpose is served by using dark paint, if the surface is smooth enough to allow of scribbling with a pencil, a sharp nail can equally well be used, and the clean effect of the light wall is morally bracing in itself. The practice of writing on the walls, which is commonly met with where supervision has not been good, can only be dealt with by obliterating all marks as quickly as possible, and by general work to raise the standard of behaviour and communal responsibility among the employees generally. Notices exhorting good behaviour in this respect are of little practical use, and often merely provide opportunity for the display of so-called humour on the part of the culprits. Scrupulous cleanliness in the lavatories, plenty of light, and a good tone in the factory are the only cure for this evil, which has a way of cropping up at intervals in the most unexpected quarters. Where the use of the lavatory in which the trouble occurs is confined to any particular section of employees it will be found useful to call a few of the older and more responsible together and report the difficulty to them. A thorough ventilation of the matter frequently ends it, though it is

rarely that the offender is caught in the act. For this reason it is unwise to threaten punishments which it is most unlikely will ever be inflicted.

Where possible, a full time attendant should be responsible for the cleaning and the good working order of flushes, etc., and for the maintenance of good order and prevention of loitering. With this last object systems of checking in and out have been tried in some large factories, but have been found undesirable from every point of view. Where the sanitary block is too small for the attendant to be kept occupied with general cleaning and tidying up she may be given charge of two or more blocks. This, of course, involves leaving one or other block unattended from time to time, but partial supervision is better than none.

WASHING ACCOMMODATION

Washing accommodation may be provided as individual wash basins or, with greater economy of space and labour in cleaning where large numbers are employed, in troughs. In either case there may be a single row against the wall or a double row for larger numbers down the centre of the lavatory. In the case of troughs there is no plug, but merely a drain to carry away the water: a series of spray taps hang over the trough, or there may be a pipe with a series of holes to which the water is regulated by a cock at the end—in this case one or two taps will also be needed for occasional use, and the cock will be turned on when the people come to wash at the close of work. An adequate supply of both hot and cold water is, of course, necessary, and soap and towels should be provided.

To provide each individual with his own tablet of soap is hardly practicable, but several devices have been produced for supplying individual portions of liquid or jelly soap. In the former case there is likely to be little waste if the container will automatically release only a fixed amount with each pressure of the lever. The soap jelly is contained in little boxes each of which has one hole just

big enough for the insertion of a finger to draw out the soap required. Soap powder is not so satisfactory, since it is almost impossible to prevent it getting damp and clogging up the holes in the container.

Some firms supply their people with individual towels to keep in their lockers, or supply a small individual towel to each person entering the lavatory, which he gives up again on leaving. Paper towels are used largely in America, but have not usually been found very popular in England, and most people resort to the ordinary roller towel, which may be quite satisfactory if changed sufficiently often. The provision recommended by the Home Office is one roller towel (15 sq. ft.) to every three persons, if changed once daily, to every nine persons if changed twice daily, but very much depends on the use made of the basins, which in its turn depends largely on the nature of the work and the position of the lavatory in relation to the work place.

BATHS

Baths are required in certain trades in which poisonous substances are used, and have been provided voluntarily in a number of other cases. Shower baths are usually provided for men, and the ordinary plunge bath for women—in some factories there are also special foot baths. As a rule, no charge is made for the use of the baths, and a period may be allowed for bathing during working hours, a certain day or time being allotted to each department. Even where baths are allowed only in the workers' own time, and where a small charge is made, the provision is often much appreciated in these days of overcrowding and insufficient housing accommodation.

DRINKING WATER

Drinking water must be supplied, under a Home Office Order, at suitable points in all factories and workshops in which twenty-five or more persons are employed. A very convenient arrangement is the bubbling fountain, which may

either stand on its own pedestal or be attached to the wall. A bubbling upward jet is turned on by means of a wheel or handle so that there is no need for drinking cups. All supplies of water for drinking purposes must be marked "Drinking Water."

III. THE AMBULANCE ROOM

[**LEGAL PROVISIONS.** The Workmen's Compensation Act provides that in every factory or workshop where machinery is in use, a first aid box or cupboard, of a prescribed standard and containing nothing but first aid requisites, must be installed, under the charge of a responsible person, who must be readily available during working hours. One such box must be provided for every 150 workers or part thereof.]

The organization of the medical and ambulance service will naturally vary enormously, not only according to the numbers employed, but also with the type of work done and the liability to serious accidents. In small factories it is usually the function of the Welfare Worker to administer first aid and to look after cases of sudden or temporary illness. For this purpose there should be provided a small ambulance room adjacent to the welfare office, so that quiet and privacy is attainable. This room can also be used as a consulting room where a doctor attends for part time only, and for the statutory examination of young persons by the Factory Certifying Surgeon. Some arrangement must be made for summoning the Welfare Worker immediately when cases are brought to the room for treatment, and, as it is manifestly impossible for anyone combining the functions of nurse and Welfare Worker to be invariably available at a moment's notice, it will be of great assistance if one or more of the ordinary workers can be trained to render first aid and appointed to act in emergency. The services of a fully trained nurse in connection with this work are, of course, invaluable. Failing this, the essential point to consider in appointing anyone to deal with first aid or illness is that he or she should be sufficiently trained to deal with simple cases, and to know exactly what may be done with safety, and when

a doctor should be sent for, or the patient sent to hospital. A simple equipment for such an ambulance room should include a couch and easy chair, both covered with easily washable material, a rug, an india-rubber hot-water bottle, a supply of hot and cold water and means for boiling water, a small glass-covered table for dressings, with one or two enamel bowls, a desk or table with drawers for the record books, and a cupboard containing simple dressings and medicines.

The minimum provision is usually a supply of sterilized finger, hand, and large size dressings, roller bandages, cotton wool, iodine, scissors, safety pins, adhesive plaster, tourniquet, splints, slings, sal volatile, medicine glass ; eye drops and burn dressings.¹ Ginger, peppermint, oil of cloves, capsicum vaseline will be found useful, if homely, remedies, but the use of drugs of any kind should not be allowed unless administered by a fully qualified person. Brandy should be available in case of real need, but it is often advisable to keep it locked apart from the ordinary remedies, especially where the room is not in charge of a trained nurse.

REST ROOM

Except in factories where accidents are very frequent, the ambulance room will also serve as a rest room for cases of illness where a short rest will enable the patient to return to work. Under proper control, it will be found that this

¹ The complete equipment for an ambulance room in works employing up to 5,000 persons is given in the Home Office pamphlet, price 4d., as follows—Instrument cabinet, instrument sterilizer, dressing table, 2 glass shelves with bracket, surgeon's basin, with slab combined and fillings, desk or table for nurse's use, couch, 3 chairs, 1 cupboard (small), screen with cover, 2 pairs blankets, 2 clinical thermometers, 1 ward thermometer, glass boxes for dressings, 3 lotion jars with tubes and stop-lock, 2 kidney trays, 1 dirty dressing pail with lid, 4 jugs, stretcher with trestles, probe, 1 pair sharp point scissors, 1 pair blunt point scissors, 6 pair artery forceps, 1 pair spring dressing forceps, 2 eye lotion baths, 1 tongue depressor, 1 spatule, 2 medicine glasses, 1 large pair scissors, needles, sutures, 2 tourniquets, 6 camel hair brushes, 1 hypodermic syringe, 5 bowls (2 glass, 3 enamel), 2 square dressing trays, 24 towels.

will not only save much suffering by bringing the employees easily in touch with the means of remedying their complaint, but will save time by avoiding the necessity of sending people home when slight treatment and short rest is all that is required, and also by bringing to light cases of illness in early stages, when treatment will often avoid the necessity for long absence later. When the work involved is sufficient to employ one person's whole time, a fully trained nurse should be engaged. Where more than one nurse is employed, it will be possible for them to visit the patients at home when advice and assistance are necessary. Such visits must, however, be paid only at the request of the worker concerned. They are not in any sense to be regarded as disciplinary, neither has the employer or his representative any prescriptive right to visit the worker in his home. As a matter of fact the workers almost invariably welcome and ask for a visit, but it is important to bear this point in mind, as otherwise the relation between the Welfare Department and the workers will be on a wrong basis.

IV. THE WORKS DOCTOR

By the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901—No young person under 16 may be employed in a factory or workshop for more than seven days without a certificate of fitness from the Factory Certifying Surgeon.—No other medical attention is legally necessary except in certain trades scheduled as dangerous, but many firms have found it highly desirable to provide for this to some extent, and have appointed “a works doctor.”

Arrangements should be made for him to attend at the works at fixed times every day, or on certain days, according to the number of the employees. This doctor may usefully be the Certifying Surgeon or may be an ordinary general practitioner,¹ but in any case should be selected

¹ In works employing large numbers of women and girls a woman doctor is often desirable.

with care, as on him will largely depend the real value of the scheme. He should be a man of considerable and varied experience, of wide sympathies, with an intimate knowledge of the local housing conditions, interested in the problems of industrial disease, and above all, skilled in *preventive* at least as much as in *remedial* treatment. He should have initiative and make himself thoroughly conversant with the processes and conditions of work in all the various departments, so that he may be able to visualize the working life of those who will come to consult him. He should have a sympathetic understanding of the work of the Welfare Department, and be prepared to work in close co-operation with it. His scientific knowledge can be of use in devising methods for improving working conditions. His routine duties will be multifarious. He should certainly thoroughly examine all young persons (i.e. those under 18) before engagement, with a view to ensuring that they are physically fit to work under the particular conditions proposed. In the case of adults, physical examination prior to engagement, though very desirable from a health standpoint, is, for obvious reasons, not often insisted upon, and much educative work remains to be done in this direction. Where medical examination is the rule, the number of absolute rejections is generally very few. The doctor may advise special treatment before engagement, or recommend the avoidance of certain departments, or appoint a trial period to be followed by re-examination. In any case the health of the worker is safeguarded.

Periodical re-examinations after three or six months are the rule in many firms, and are undoubtedly of great value, since they provide an opportunity of observing how employment affects the health and development of the young person.

The Works Doctor is also available for consultation by all workers, and the fact that he is on the premises, and may be seen without loss of time, such as is involved in going to the Out Patients' Department of a hospital, or,

often, to the panel doctor, means in practice that many workers seek his advice in the early stages of illness when preventive measures are possible. The Works Doctor does not usually give continuous treatment to workers over 16, who are referred for this to their panel doctors. In cases of accident the Works Doctor will render first aid treatment himself if he is available at the time, and will always act as consultant, even when the actual first aid duties must be delegated to the nurse or some other person. He will naturally supervise the ambulance room and first aid stations, testing the qualifications of the men and women in charge of them, and possibly training them and forming them into a voluntary first aid detachment.

Further than this it is possible that the functions of the doctor may develop in other directions; through periodical inspections and by study of the processes of work he can obtain an intimate knowledge of conditions in the various departments, and may be of great assistance in dealing with transfers for health reasons. There is scope for medical work in the study of occupational disease, of fatigue, and the causes of over fatigue, the arrangement of rest pauses, the effects of dust, and of other possibly injurious materials used in the process of work.

V. THE DENTAL DEPARTMENT

When a dental department is installed it must be worked in close co-operation with the Works Doctor, and invariably proves most effective as a preventive measure which saves much of the unnecessary illness, suffered by young people especially, through neglect of the teeth. Where the numbers are large there may be a fully equipped dental room with full time or part time dentists—treatment being given free or at reduced rates. If false teeth are provided a charge is generally made to cover at least the actual cost. Where smaller numbers are dealt with it is often possible to provide a dental chair in the surgery, so that a visiting

dentist may attend for examinations only, making appointments for treatment at his own rooms.

Some firms have found it desirable to establish oculist's consulting rooms on similar lines.

VI. HEALTH RECORDS, ETC.

Record keeping is a very valuable part of health work, and records of all cases treated should be kept in the ambulance room. Cases treated at first aid stations in the factory should be recorded with full particulars of how the accident occurred, and the record sent the same day to the ambulance room.

Such records are necessary from the point of view of the individual worker, since they establish the facts necessary in stating a case for compensation for accident, and provide a reliable means of judging of the worker's aptitude for different kinds of work. They will also provide valuable material for research into the causes and means of prevention of both accident and illness.

Records may be multiplied indefinitely according to the statistics required, but generally speaking, those of first importance will give the health record of everyone in the factory, starting with the doctor's report on the examination before engagement if such examination is the rule. In a card index system this report will be entered on the card, and will be followed by a note of any illness or accident which may occur; absence from work, convalescent or hospital treatment, infectious disease of anyone in the family, and any special circumstances which may affect the health should all be entered.

Such records will be useful when transferring workers from one department to another. A vague impression that "A" is not strong enough may be found to be due to the fact that "A" lost time some years ago for domestic reasons; or the fact that "B's" record shows that he was absent at some period when tuberculosis was suspected but never developed or was cured, will keep him from being

sent to work in a department which is unavoidably dusty.

In addition to records of individuals, departmental records of time lost through illness, infectious diseases, tuberculosis or any special disease which may be incidental to the work, should be kept, so that each year may be compared with the previous one, and the effects of different treatment or conditions may be estimated.

The Accident Record should be studied with a view to avoiding accidents, and may be classified every month departmentally, showing the comparative number per head and the nature of accident. Even such slight mishaps as small cuts, scratches, splinters, and knocks with a hammer may be very materially reduced by tracking down the cause, as, for instance, worn-out boxes or benches, faulty working of machinery or materials, or the need for adjusting the height of tables or chairs in order to reach the proper position for working efficiently. When serious accidents occur, detailed records of how and when the accident happened are of value to those whose duty it is to investigate each case with a view to preventing any possible recurrence.

With a little care and forethought it is easy to keep a concise record of all relevant facts, without spending a disproportionate amount of time on the process, and much information can be gleaned from a periodical examination of these records. An undue amount of time lost, for example, in any one department, should be investigated at once. It may be due to any one of a number of causes but, whatever it is, it is best known. Without exact records it is impossible to be precise in one's knowledge, and undoubtedly correct information as to the causes of absence will frequently lead to the discovery of unsuspected, and in many cases, avoidable sources of danger to health.

Reference has been made in the text to various records which it is desirable to keep. The exact details vary with local conditions, but the following specimens may be useful as suggestions.

GENERAL RECORD CARD. This provides a brief summary of the industrial history of the worker while in the factory and should be filed away for reference on leaving.

[P.T.O.

RECORD CARD (front)

RECORD CARD (back)

SPECIAL REPORTS

MEDICAL EXAMINATION CARD. This is useful where a periodical examination is made of new entrants at 3, 6 or 12 months' intervals. It is especially valuable with the juveniles just entering industry. It should of course be treated as confidential and be kept in the medical department.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION CARD

NAME	ADDRESS	DATE OF BIRTH	ENGAGED	DEPT.	NO.
				Date of Examination.	Date of Examination.
Height				Heart	
Weight				Lungs	
Cleanliness				Anaemia	
Eyesight R. L.				Family History	
Teeth				Hearing	
Throat				Previous Illness	
Nose				Muscular Develop't	
Glands				Vaccination	Notes on the other side

PHYSICAL RECORD CARD. This provides a summary of absence due to illness or accident and a record of visits to the ambulance room. Along with the General Record Card it supplies a concise statement of fact which is a valuable check on the general impressions which are apt to form an unreliable basis for judgment.

PHYSICAL RECORD CARD (front)

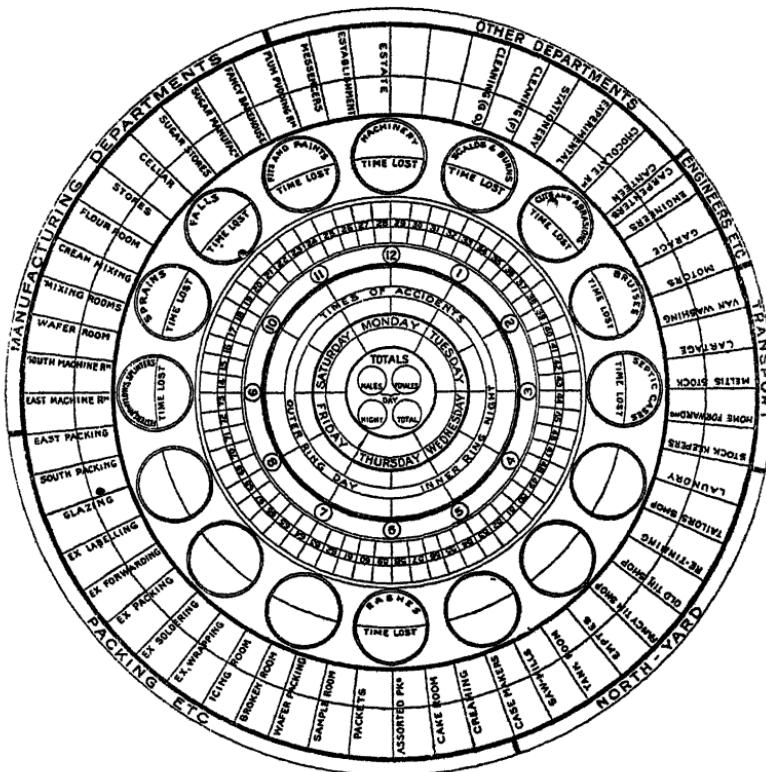
PHYSICAL RECORD CARD (back)

RECORD OF ABSENCE THROUGH ILLNESS.

ACCIDENTS involving absence from work.

RECORD OF ACCIDENTS FOR PERIOD

FROM _____ TO _____



THE RECORD OF ACCIDENTS is a simple chart for recording a complete return of all details concerning accidents occurring in the works. All possible information is here recorded: the nature of the injury; age and sex of the victim; department, time and day of the occurrence. This chart is very useful for comparing records of different periods.

VII. PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

For detailed explanations of the methods and technique of test devising and test giving, the reader is referred to the publications of the Institute of Industrial Psychology. Here it must suffice to state that before tests are set to applicants, they are themselves subjected to very rigorous trial. Those tests are eliminated which fail to yield a significant similarity between the ranking obtained by a group of workers of known ability who perform them and independent rankings of the same group by competent judges. The surviving tests are then standardized, weighted, and used in the Employment Department; from time to time they are again reviewed in the light of careful analysis of candidates recorded in the factory. Up to the present tests have not been devised which successfully determine whether an applicant's emotional or temperamental traits are suited to a given vacancy: these qualities, therefore, still remain to be estimated during the personal interview in the Employment Department.

It should, however, be noted that these tests cannot be so standardized that a series of them could be supplied to, or still less successfully devised by, an Employment Manager untrained in psychological methods. Since much of the successful working of these tests depends upon the test giver's encouragement of an easy attitude on the part of the candidate, and upon his practice in the technique of this work, it is clear that tests given by an untrained person would produce inferior and often unfair results.

To avoid any such disaster, large firms can engage the services of temporary investigators for a period long enough to satisfy themselves of the value of the tests, and can then, if they wish, appoint permanent works psychologists, as has already been done in several cases. But for the present, at any rate, it is unpractical to suggest that most small firms, already equipped with an Employment Department, can afford the additional expenditure of making permanent

appointments. In some cases it has already been arranged that trained psychological investigators should work out a series of suitable tests and attend at intervals to apply these tests to groups of candidates approved on other grounds by the Employment Department.

VIII. LIGHTING

The most common faults in factory lighting are—

- (1) Insufficient use of daylight.
- (2) Careless placement of the workers in relation to the light.

(3) The lack of care in upkeep of the means of light.

(1) Insufficient use of daylight is one of the most usual and inexcusable faults in workroom lighting. Windows are obscured by dirt that literally has to be scraped off to admit the cheapest form of light, or blocked up by piles of raw material, or finished goods, or even partly pasted over with paper to keep draughts out, and all the time the factory bill for artificial lighting mounts up.

(2) The careless arrangement of machines and benches in relation to the lighting, natural or artificial, is also frequent. Electric bulbs are placed too high or too low, or sparsely, gas jets flicker and tire the eyes, machines are so arranged that the operatives inevitably work in a shadow, and the natural results—spoilt work, and physical injury to the worker, accidents, headaches, eyestrain, and general lassitude, are often attributed to many other causes before they are proved to be the result of wrong lighting.

(3) The lack of care in the upkeep of artificial light can be easily remedied by a little organization, and the remedy, regular inspection and cleaning, in effect, costs much less than the strain and mistakes due to defective lighting.

If it is realized that much that is wrong in lighting can be cheaply and easily remedied by slight readjustments, the use of reflectors, soap and water, and last, but not least, whitewash on dark and dirty walls and roofs, the

problem of improving workroom lighting need not necessarily be a costly one in its solution.

IX. HEATING AND VENTILATION

The better the heating and ventilating systems in a factory, the better the health and comfort of the employees, who are thus able to give their best workmanship. It is no good expecting efficiency and good feeling where work is done in uncomfortable surroundings. The systems of heating in a factory vary greatly, and not one can be said to be absolutely ideal—and no system should be put in without remembering the possible effect on ventilation. The two things, heating and ventilation, are so closely bound up that it is difficult to discuss one without the other. Extremes of temperature undoubtedly cause accidents and illness, for an over-heated condition engenders exhaustion and inability to concentrate or move quickly, whilst extreme cold, similar in its effects, involves equally serious risk of accidents. Whatever the method of heating a factory (and the old-fashioned fire which in a way acts as an automatic ventilator, is not to be condemned in a small workroom), care must be given to regulating the temperature of the rooms. Daily readings of thermometers conveniently placed will give a guide as to whether there is any radical defect in the heating system, or deviation from the best temperature for the rooms in question.

So very often in factories, what is called the ventilation system in workrooms is really a unique and unavoidable combination of draughts. This sounds a drastic statement, but the frequent complaint that the workers in a room won't have the windows open is not always evidence of their dislike of fresh air, so much as a protest against the way in which the air enters. How to admit it in the right way and with maximum value is a problem peculiar to each factory, but it is not an insolvable problem. Expensive systems of ventilation are not necessarily wanted in

order to impel cool fresh air into the room and extract the stale air.

A desirable working atmosphere should be—

- (1) Cool rather than hot.
- (2) Dry rather than damp.
- (3) Moving rather than still.

Moving air, even if it contain a fair amount of exhaled CO₂, is more invigorating than pure but stagnant air, and the less the ventilation in a room, the hotter and more humid the atmosphere will become, and the greater is the menace to the workers from the germs that flourish in impure air. Again, like lighting defects, the defects of heating and ventilation show themselves in the ambulance records of accidents and illness. Some of the simplest faults are at the root of unsatisfactory ventilation, and apart from the actual system, the question of upkeep, as in lighting, must be studied. The window that won't open because the cord is broken, or the painter has stuck it up with paint, and the ventilator that won't ventilate because it is broken or choked up, are easily put right, far more so than the trouble their ineffectiveness causes. Fresh air is so necessary to the health of the worker that every effort should be made to arrange efficient, not necessarily costly, ventilation, and to educate people in its value.

A stuffy workshop usually means a liberal exchange of various diseases amongst its occupants, which from a business point of view, apart from any other, spells definite loss in good workmanship. The close study of health and accident records, and even of output and spoilt work figures, will often act as a valuable diagnosis of radical defects in working conditions, which at first sight seem at least fairly satisfactory.

X. PROTECTIVE CLOTHING

Practically every trade involves processes requiring some form of "protective clothing," and the study of the

need of it, and the best type to provide in order to fulfil that need, falls rather naturally among the duties of a Welfare Department.

The types of work obviously demanding the provision of protective clothing have been very concisely summarized in the excellent Home Office pamphlet on the subject as follows—

- (1) Dusty and dirty work.
- (2) Proximity to dangerous machines, climbing.
- (3) Caustic and acid processes.
- (4) Wet processes.
- (5) Hot processes.
- (6) Weather exposure.

Under specific Welfare Orders a certain amount of protective clothing must be provided for people working on particular processes, but, from experience of factories that do not come under these Orders, it is obvious that much not specifically required by the Home Office can and should be done to render many operations safer, more comfortable, and hence less of a menace to the operative's safety, health, and efficiency.

The suggestions for, provision of, and issuing of protective clothing, is usually a function of the Welfare Department, and the close study of jobs in the factory will usually produce suggestions on simple and efficient lines. Protective clothing need not in the majority of cases mean a costly outlay: experience shows that some of the most ordinary materials and contrivances are the most efficacious.

Stout canvas aprons, waterproof or anti-grease proof, in the end save much discomfort, and possibly waste of material provided solely for a process, but utilized in self-defence by an operative as apron or handwrapping. Old rubber printing blankets, useless for the actual process, will, when stripped, provide the best material for resisting normal hard and wet processes, and can be made into aprons, sleeves, gaiters, hand and arm pads, etc. Clogs, apart from keeping feet dry, keep them warm on concrete

floors, and incidentally are a great protection where there is risk of incurring damage from loose scrap of any sort, or from loading and unloading processes. They are not an expensive item, and save their cost many times over by reducing discomfort and accidents.

Wages are not normally arranged to compensate for any damage to personal clothes, where such risks are incurred, and hence protective clothing should be looked on as compensatory allowance, or definitely considered to be plant or equipment, and handled accordingly. The method of obtaining or providing such clothing will vary, of course, with the type of factory—and the particular needs. Some prefer to, and can, make their own, others find it more satisfactory to get into touch with firms sufficiently interested in the question to study individual factory problems and needs, and meet them accordingly.

The actual system of controlling the provision and issue of protective clothing can easily be worked out to suit the factory in question, and because of the enormous range in demand corresponding to the variety of trades and processes within them, it is not possible to lay down any hard and fast rules or detailed advice on such systems. Sufficient to say that both from a moral point of view and from a business one, protective clothing, in that it is an investment in mental and physical well-being, is worth detailed study, and detailed application. The accusation of superficial criticism that it is pampering the workers, if it cannot be refuted on grounds of justice and consideration, can usually be met in the hard cash saving effected by the decrease in loss of time, of output, and of compensation bills.

XI. SAFETY FIRST

Because the Welfare Department is so intimately concerned with the safety of employees, it should not be conceived of as solely and uniquely responsible for all measures of safety, but should rather, working through a

Safety Committee, act as the stimulus for promoting and providing measures of safety, relying largely on the universal co-operation in the factory to ensure their observance—that is to say, “Safety First” in the factory is as much the workers’ concern as the firm’s, and as much the concern of the individual as it is of the committee through which, for convenience sake, all matters relating to safety should pass.

Safety first is primarily and essentially an unselfish doctrine in that it teaches people to work for the prevention of accidents, not only for themselves, but equally for others. Each for all, and all for each, should be the keynote. Just how responsible the Welfare Department should be for “safety” is difficult to say. It varies to a certain extent with the factory. The investigation of accidents, unfortunately, teaches much for future preventive work—we say “unfortunately,” for it is the most undesirable and yet, too, the commonest way of learning, and to quote the old proverb is “shutting the gate when the horse has gone.”

“Safety work” must not, and cannot be the concern and responsibility of the few in addition to their normal duties, or it becomes a task beyond their physical and mental capacity. Different factories will need different schemes; maybe a small permanent administrative committee with an additional section constantly changing in personnel will prove suitable, or a small one meeting departmental and sectional ones in turn; or a large committee for the entire factory may be best.

The main points are that there should be a sufficiently stable nucleus to ensure continuity of policy and schemes, a constantly changing “tail” to ensure publicity and co-operation, and fulfil educational functions, and lastly a thorough backing by the firm. It is no use establishing a safety committee unless Directors are prepared to treat it with the courtesy and seriousness essential to its standing in the factory. The use and value of the Welfare Department to the safety committee cannot be over-estimated.

In its particular relationship to the workers, where safety and health are concerned, the Welfare Department represented on the committee, should function pre-eminently and at once as a source of valuable information on which to build preventive and constructive work for the future, and a constant stimulus for anticipatory measures.

There should be no need here to enlarge on the value of safety first work in a factory. Looked at from every point of view it is too valuable to receive anything but support.

XII. INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE

It must be realized that the physiological explanation of fatigue is in effect simple of comprehension, and the inevitability of its development under certain conditions such that preventive work is easily possible, and a distinct duty.

Broadly speaking, work is accompanied by the formation of certain acids which in time inhibit muscular action unless carried away by the blood in circulation. Beyond a certain quantity at a time, the blood cannot deal with it, and the accumulating and uneliminated acid that is left naturally has the effect of fatiguing the muscle with increasing effect. In the same way is explained general fatigue following excessive action by one set of muscles only. Here the concentrated work of a group of muscles sends the waste product through the system, where it tends to tire other muscles. To allow the blood time to deal with accumulated acid the part providing the waste must be given a necessary pause of varying duration. The fact that after a certain time man cannot work any longer is Nature's protest and method of protection. Applying this to the factory we see that on different jobs, in varying degrees, fatigue is induced, and the system of set daily working hours with the recreational and sleep intervals marking one day from the next is the broadest and most natural division between one period of fatigue and the next. If, however, fatigue

is studied as the outcome of particular jobs, not merely looked on as the natural outcome of a day's work of any kind, it is possible to ensure a minimum of daily fatigue, leaving a maximum of fitness which shall make it possible for the worker to use his leisure creatively, rather than as a period for collapse and partial recreation only.

The function of the Welfare Department with regard to fatigue is to study the problem from the points of view of discovery and prevention. An outline of what is meant will be sufficient.

The discovery of industrial fatigue can be made mainly through the study of the records appertaining to health, accidents, output, spoilt work, and lost time. Sometimes one section alone gives the evidence, sometimes concurrent evidence from two or more sections will give the warning. Sufficient to say that the frequency of minor illnesses and minor accidents, of spoilt work, a noticeable drop in a worker's output, irregular time-keeping, etc., and—not obtainable from a card index, but none the less a very definite signpost—the complaints of a worker's sudden stupidity or irritability, all can be potent warnings of the oncoming of industrial fatigue.

Fatigue can be prevented largely by the provision of healthy working conditions, and by this we mean, in addition to proper heating, lighting, ventilation, and sanitary provisions, facilities for sitting, rest pauses, minimum overtime, a reasonable working day, the study of work arrangements and motions, and the fitting of the worker to the right job.

The minimizing of fatigue is a just thing, a right and a wise thing from the point of view of employer and employee.

REST PERIODS

Breaks or pauses in the middle of working periods have been proved in practice to be a definite asset to health and efficiency, but the attitude that they are an unnecessary and valueless luxury still obtains.

If the question of rest pauses is considered seriously from a physiological point of view, the obvious value of relieving the strain on tired muscles can be seen at once—but rest pauses cannot be decided on arbitrarily, nor can hard and fast rules be laid down concerning their application or institution. Certain processes require more frequent breaks than others, if the work curve is to be at its maximum of effectiveness, and on the other hand, on certain jobs too frequent pauses can militate against the comfort and rhythm of the worker. If the institution of a general rest pause alone is considered as giving an opportunity for relaxation, and in some cases, refreshment, the usual custom is to give it, say, for ten minutes, in the middle of a working period. Such a pause, apart from physical rest, if accompanied by facilities for taking food, is extremely valuable and helpful as a whole to people who may not be able to obtain or take a proper meal before commencing work in the morning, or who are on such work that frequent food is desirable. When one considers how very early the bulk of workers have to get up in the morning to get to the factory, it can be readily understood that breakfast, even if taken at all, is taken so early that the period between it and dinner is too long.

If, however, the rest pause be looked on not only as a general relaxation from work strain, but as a work stimulus and fatigue preventive, each process must be studied separately.

HOLIDAYS

The institution of an annual holiday with pay is happily a growing custom. Its value as a health-giving factor and a mental stimulus cannot be over-estimated. The idea which one sometimes comes across that people have no real need of holidays, is the outcome of very superficial thinking. Many people if possessed of comfortable, healthy homes, with gardens to give them beauty and fresh air, and money and leisure to enjoy amusements and

hobbies, might not feel the loss, but people who alternate between a factory workroom and a small, crowded, inconvenient and gardenless home in a noisy, ugly street, without leisure or facilities for mental and bodily recreation, have a different viewpoint.

A holiday is at once a stimulus and a rest, but it must be a holiday with pay; for workers to be given time off without even the normal income to support them is not a holiday, but a hardship.

Where such a period is given without pay a yearly holiday savings scheme will often help to convert the time from "unemployment" to holiday. Where pay is given, the scheme can still operate as a pleasant addition. Some firms, in addition to giving the holiday with or without pay, interest themselves in arranging camps of their own, or in giving facilities for groups of workers to go farther afield, even abroad, and such arrangements can be wonderfully helped by such bodies as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., C.H.A., and the Workers' Travel Association, all of which offer exceptionally suitable and useful facilities for holidays.

XIII. INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORKERS

The Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers was Incorporated in 1924, having been founded in 1913, under the name of Welfare Workers' Association, as the Professional Association of men and women engaged in welfare work in industrial and commercial undertakings. It is a self-governing organization, having for its object the promotion and development of Industrial Welfare Work by the interchange of experience and information amongst its Members and Associates, by discussion and suggestion in its magazine *Welfare Work* (published monthly), and at conferences, lectures, and open meetings, and by obtaining a uniform standard of training and qualification for those undertaking the work. A register of trained and experienced Welfare Workers is kept at the disposal of any employer requiring a Welfare Worker. The Institute

is also in a position to recommend expert consultants, qualified to make a detailed study of the special conditions in any firm desirous of introducing welfare work.

Full membership is restricted to those actively engaged in welfare work, but other persons interested in the subject are welcomed as Associates.

All inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, from whom all information may be obtained. The registered office is at Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

XIV. TRAINING

The following publications giving particulars of training and qualifications desirable in welfare supervisors will be found useful—

1. *Welfare and Welfare Supervision in Factories and Workshops*, issued by the Home Office 1919, price 2d.

2. *Welfare Training and Welfare Work*, a Report of the Conference held at the Home Office on Friday, July 2nd, 1920, price 3d., H.M. Stationery Office.

3. *University Training for Welfare Work in Industry and Commerce*, a report issued by the Joint University Council for Social Studies. Published by P. S. King & Son, 1921, price 6d.

XV. WORKS COMMITTEES

The following are typical examples of business dealt with by works committees, some consisting of workers only and some joint councils representing both workers and management—

1. Initiation and administration of sick, benevolent, savings, pensions and unemployment funds.
2. Management of works canteens.
3. Preparation and administration of profit-sharing schemes.
4. Detection and punishment of petty offences, e.g. pilfering.

5. Drawing up of works rules and of regulations as to holidays and holiday pay.
6. Supervision of apprentices and training of new workers.
7. Educational schemes including the arrangement of classes and lectures and the granting of scholarships, etc.
8. Organization of the workers into trade unions.
9. Regulation of the division of the working week.
10. Organization of transport facilities.
11. Assisting and promoting investigations under the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and Institute of Industrial Psychology.
12. Inquiries into alleged unjust dismissals.
13. Suggestions for improvement of processes, conditions, etc.
14. Promotion of good time-keeping.
15. Safety first precautions and first aid regulations.
16. Consultation as to—
 - (1) the most equitable selection of workers to be laid off when reduction of staff becomes inevitable during periods of severe trade depression.
 - (2) the best methods of working short time under similar conditions.
17. Initiation and administration of a relief fund to meet the difficulties of those thrown out of work during such times, as for example the difficult time immediately after the war.
18. Regulation of collections made in the works for various charitable objects.
19. All social activities including sports clubs, orchestra, choir, dramatic societies, etc., and the management of sports grounds and club premises.

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